

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR AUGUST, 1830.

- Art. I. 1. *The History of England.* By the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh. Volume 1st. sm. 8vo. pp. 394. Price 6s. London. 1830. (*Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.*)
2. *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus.* By Washington Irving. f.cap. 8vo. pp. 368. Price 5s. London. 1830. (*Family Library.*)
3. *Insect Transformations.* In Two Parts. 12mo. pp. 432. Price 4s. London. 1830. (*Library of Entertaining Knowledge.*)
4. *Life of Oliver Cromwell.* By the Rev. M. Russell, LL.D. Author of "A Connection of Sacred and Profane History," &c. 2 Vols. 18mo. pp. 660. Price 7s. Edinburgh. 1829. (*Constable's Miscellany.* Vols. xlvii. and xlviii.)

WE have taken up these publications, as being severally the last of the respective series that have come to our hand, for the purpose of making a few general observations on the prevalent system of book-making, as connected with Domestic Libraries and Cyclopedias, which promises largely to comprise the entire circle of human knowledge within the limits of a few monthly duodecimos, and threatens to divert the current of general study and research into a course of light and miscellaneous reading. There is something ridiculous enough in the eagerness with which a successful idea is caught up by imitative speculators, and hunted out into every variety of absurdity. A strong line of distinction ought to be drawn between the fair and respectable plans of publishers hazarding a considerable outlay, and anxious to effect the combination of reasonable profit with creditable enterprise, and the schemes of those

worthy tradesmen who are willing to obtain the largest return from the public, with the least possible risk to themselves.

We shall, at the very outset, avow, that we have a prejudice against all such publications. They convert the spontaneous enterprises of literature into a bookseller's speculation. They deprive authorship of its elective and *con amore* character, and invest it with an appearance of constraint and prescription. We dislike to see anything connected with writing, that may tend to identify it with *bespoke work*; nor can we consent to accept that which it may suit the convenience of a publisher to suggest, and the careless acquiescence of authors by profession to undertake, in lieu of works taken up from motives of preference, and elaborated with corresponding patience and perseverance. We are jealous of all such manœuvres as tend to reduce literature to a matter of manufacturing routine. In objecting to 'the Library System', we would make an exception in favour of such works as profess to communicate a digest of all that has been done or discovered in any particular range of philosophical investigation. In all such cases, the circle of discovery and research is continually extending, until it becomes too large for common comprehension; and the materials go on accumulating, until they require the intervention of some judicious hand for their arrangement and condensation. Philology demands dictionaries; Natural Philosophy, systems; Geography, arrangement and analysis; History, combination. But all this is a very different affair from the delusion which seems to have come upon the reading people of Great Britain, and which will, for a time, merge more profitable pursuits in the indiscriminate accumulation of pocket literature. All caprices must have their day. Musical snuff-boxes have disappeared; Kaleidoscopes are no longer to be seen; Magazines find difficulty in holding up the head; Reviews have ceased to be infallible; Encyclopedias in folio are extinguished, and those in quarto languish. Duodecimos *et infra* are now triumphant, and will hold their supremacy until superseded by some fresh whim, or until it shall be discovered that knowledge consists in facts, not in forms; in reasoning and close application, not in the thoughtless purchase or desultory perusal of neatly printed books, whether the covers be drab, green, scarlet, or purple.

The 'merit of having set the example of these popular compendiums', is claimed by the Modern Traveller, which appeared first in the field, and by its success soon provoked imitation. The idea of the publication was an original one; and though mistaken at first for a cheap compilation which might be easily rivalled, it was soon discovered to be, as the Westminster Reviewers characterised it, 'not the work it seems to be, but a better'. It is, in fact, an elaborate geographical work, but it

was not supposed to be so; and accordingly, nothing seemed easier than to bring out some two or three score volumes of the same description. One of the leading publishers went so far as not merely to project, but even to prepare and print the first volume or two of a series intended to compete with the publication in question. But he soon abandoned the enterprise. Now that the work is completed, some awkward and paltry attempts at imitation are announced, which will probably share the same fate. The truth is, that such a work was a *desideratum*; but the value of the performance depended altogether on the sound judgement and patient industry brought to the task. Unless it were undertaken and prosecuted *con amore*, there would be no chance that a work involving so much labour would be competently and faithfully executed. Of the manner in which Mr. Conder has fulfilled his task, we refrain from speaking; but we shall transcribe, as the best character of the work that we have seen, the account of it given in a highly respectable French Journal.

‘L’Editeur du Voyageur Moderne s’est occupé avec un soin remarquable de tout ce qui avoit rapport aux établissemens Britanniques dans l’Inde, et à l’histoire des Amériques du nord et du sud. On doit lui en savoir d’autant plus de gré, que les matériaux, quoique nombreux, sont ou inexacts ou indigestes. Un des plus grands perfectionnemens de l’ouvrage est la multiplicité des renvois aux sources et aux documens originaux. Cette précaution, trop négligée jusqu’ici dans les encyclopédies, dictionnaires, &c. facilite singulièrement les études spéciales, et offre de grands avantages à quiconque lit pour s’instruire. Les divisions adoptées dès l’origine permettent aussi de se procurer séparément tout ce qui concerne un royaume, sa physionomie politique, historique, son aspect, &c. C’est une compilation faite habilement, d’après un plan bien entendu, et dont des détails originaux et savans complètent l’ensemble.’—*Revue Cyclopédique*, April 1830.

“Constable’s Miscellany” was, if we recollect aright, the next periodical series that was started. It commenced with voyages and travels; and the first volume, an abridgement of Basil Hall’s Voyage to the Loo Choo Islands, was apparently intended to be the beginning of a geographical series suggested by the success of the Modern Traveller. That plan, however, if entertained, has not been followed up, the greater part of the volumes that have appeared, being judiciously devoted to history and biography. On the whole, this series, which has far outgrown the reach of our criticism, is not undeserving of commendation, as being reasonable in charge, and sufficiently judicious in selection. It contains several seasonable republications, bringing within the terms of easy purchase, works not previously procurable, excepting at an inconvenient price; and some original writing of highly respectable character. Among

these, we had intended long since to devote a separate notice to Dr. Russell's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, which is an admirable piece of historical biography,—written with great impartiality and candour, exhibiting a competent degree of research, directed and improved by sound judgement, and placing in a just and instructive light the history of that eventful period. We can very confidently recommend these volumes to the perusal of our readers, and have much pleasure in doing so. In brief, we may say of this “Miscellany” as a series, that, although we feel no very inordinate solicitude to possess it entire, still, a fair proportion of its volumes may be advantageously placed among the favourite works of the general reader.

The “Family Library” is, unquestionably, a highly respectable publication. Great pains have been taken in the *getting-up* of the volumes, and a liberal anxiety has been manifested to secure the most effective assistance. A great error has certainly been committed in the instance of the “History of the Jews”, but the blame is due to Mr. Milman only. Mr. Murray was justified in placing implicit confidence in the discretion and good taste of a writer standing so high both in official dignity and public estimation. Both parties are, however, interested in the retraction of the false step. The book is not worth re-writing; its style, though vivacious and attractive, is essentially unhistorical; and the neologistic character of its representations is, of itself, sufficient to make it an exceedingly improper book for the domestic library. Having already given, in a separate article, our opinion of the merits of the work, we shall not repeat it in this place; but our readers will, we are sure, be gratified by an extract from a judicious and well written sermon in vindication of Jewish history, by Dr. Faussett, the Margaret Professor of Divinity. It is a seasonable expression of orthodox sentiment, and does credit both to the preacher and to the pulpit of St. Mary's.

‘Notwithstanding a profession of reverence for divine truth, (the sincerity of which I am by no means disposed to question,) and various instances, in which the particulars of the sacred story have been unobjectionably stated, it is not too much to assert, that a spirit of cavil and irreverence pervades the whole work; that its general *tendency* at least is sceptical. It evinces a constant disposition to discuss the probability of miracles; to dispense with the Divine agency, wherever a secondary cause can with any plausibility be suggested; to obliterate, as far as may be, the prominent features of distinction between God's peculiar people and the general mass of mankind; to humanize, if I may so express it, a history which is utterly incredible and inconsistent on human principles. The inspired Scriptures are habitually treated as if they were a mere portion of oriental literature:—there is almost as little ceremony used in questioning the accuracy of the nar-

rative, in insinuating the liability to error, or in adopting what may appear a preferable solution, as if the work of some profane historian were the subject of discussion, rather than the word of the living God. In short, to adopt an unhappy phrase from the book itself, a "rational latitude of exposition" is professedly employed, which, as practically explained by the conduct of the work, is far too closely analogous to the unhallowed speculations of German rationalism.

'The Author should appear to have engaged in his undertaking, labouring under the baneful influence of *three* principal errors; under preconceived views, either wholly or partially unfounded, on *three* points most intimately connected with the religious tendencies of his work. *First*, an exaggerated notion of the degree in which it is justifiable, I would rather say, in which it is even possible, to separate the *political* history of the Jews from *theological* considerations;—*secondly*, a low and inadequate view of *Divine inspiration*;—and lastly, a vague idea of the accommodation of religious truths to the progress of *civilization*; that treacherous theory, by an infatuated reliance on which, the neologist followers of Semler involved themselves in the most revolting impieties, and which, in the case before us, has evidently betrayed an English divine into palpable contradictions of God's revealed word.'

We have, also, lying before us, "A Letter to the Rev. Henry Hart Milman", urgently 'deprecating the republication' of the History of the Jews. It is written with simplicity and earnestness, and, were it only for the sake of propriety, the deprecation ought to be effectual. We much doubt, however, whether any purpose, beyond the sacrifice to decorum and sound principle, would be answered by the official suppression of the work. The mischief is done, and the abstraction of the regular edition, would probably be but the signal for the publication of a surreptitious transcript.

There will be the less need for a distinct reference to the different works composing this 'family' series, as we have already taken occasion to notice one or two of the numbers, and shall have, hereafter, to make distinct comment on some of those which lie before us. But we cannot dismiss the present division of this article, without giving high praise to the little volume which we have selected as its text. Mr. Irving has made, out of his larger and rather flimsy Life of Columbus, an excellent and most interesting abstract, written at once with spirit and precision; popular, yet not superficial. The illustrations are singularly well chosen; fac-similes of maps and sketches, a portrait of Amerigo Vespucci, and another of Columbus, from an old engraving which is judged by the Duke of Veraguas, the lineal descendant of Columbus, to be the 'most probable' resemblance of that illustrious navigator. We shall extract Mr. Irving's concluding note.

'While this abridgement was going to press, the Author received a

letter from Madrid, mentioning a recent circumstance, which may be of some interest to the reader of this work. The emancipation of the Spanish colonies in America had stripped the heirs of Columbus of all their property, insomuch that his last direct descendant and representative, the Duke of Veraguas, a young nobleman of worth and talent, was reduced to extreme poverty. He instituted a claim upon the Government for indemnification, which has just been allowed. A pension of twenty-four thousand dollars has been assigned him on the revenues of Cuba and Porto Rico. It is a circumstance highly to his credit, that, in the time of his greatest distress, he refused sums that were offered him for various documents in the archives of his family, and particularly for autographs of his illustrious ancestor.'

Dr. Lardner's "*Cabinet Cyclopædia*" has already obtained from us incidental notice; and we are happy in giving to it that praise for its general execution, which has been bestowed on such portions as we have had occasion to take in hand. It has been undertaken in a spirit of bold and generous enterprise, and has already established a decided claim on public patronage. We shall, however, point out an instance or two, in which we have detected what appears to us error in judgement, though not in execution. Mr. Roscoe's biography of "*Eminent British Lawyers*", is a well-written and instructive volume; but it might, we think, with a more vigorous application of the knowledge and talent displayed in its composition, have been made to exhibit a practical illustration of the history of legal administration in England, something after the manner of Phillips's *State Trials*. We are not, indeed, quite sure that this intention was not, to a certain extent, in the Author's mind: still, if such were the design, it is neither obviously, nor efficiently accomplished. Let it, however, be distinctly understood, that we make this observation not in the smallest degree in depreciation of Mr. Roscoe's book: within its own limits, it is competently done. But there is another case, in which we think an erroneous judgement is injuriously manifest. The "*Cities and Principal Towns of the World*", with their insignificant vignette representations, is just one of those make-weight interpolations of which we can see neither the utility, nor the beauty, nor, in truth, the object aimed at. There is too much for mere indication; too little for real information; and if there were distinct importance enough in the subject itself, to entitle it to a leading place in a *Cyclopædia* constructed on a principle of selection and adjustment, we should still require a very different mode of treatment. At present, with its paltry and unexpressive wood-cuts, it resembles more one of Darton and Harvey's books for children, than an important section of a scientific series. A well-digested gazetteer might, by the aid of vigorous compression, and that sort of short-hand which a cle-

ver management of the compositor's materials might easily be made to supply, have been compressed into the three volumes devoted to this very unsatisfactory compilation. We are anxious to be understood as bringing forward these comments, not as characteristic of the work, but as exceptions merely. Our expectations from the entire publication are of the highest order, and we think that it promises to fill up a serious deficiency in literature, by supplying general readers with that due medium between the instruction that is meagre and elementary, and that which is strictly and inaccessibly scientific. At the same time, much will depend upon the discretion of the Editor, and his resolute exclusion of all journey-work jobs and catch-penny interpolations, by which the Cyclopædia will be extended at the expense of its average character and permanent respectability *.

It is to the honour of the proprietors of this Cyclopædia, that they have gone to the highest sources for the materials of their work. The History of Scotland, by Sir Walter Scott, which is complete in two volumes, and the History of England, by Sir James Mackintosh, of which the first volume now lies before us, are both highly interesting works, although in nearly opposite ways. Sir Walter tells his story with infinite spirit, and touches his details with a master's hand; but his comments are of unequal value, and sometimes fail completely of their object. The following paragraph is a specimen of hasty speculation, of which a little sound reflection would have induced the suppression. At the battle of Bannockburn, the formidable archery of England had been exposed, without the slightest protection, to the charge of a strong body of Scottish men-at-arms, and easily dispersed; an illustration, certainly, of the military eye and prompt generalship of Bruce, but at least equally an evidence of the want of common precaution on the part of the English com-

* We regret to see announced, a "Cabinet Library", by the Editor of this same "Cabinet Cyclopædia"; to commence with the Life and Reign of George IV. This series, the advertisement tells us, '*which has been for some time in preparation*, is intended to embrace such subjects of powerful or immediate interest, as do not fall within the regular plan of the Cabinet Cyclopædia. It will be supported by the same class of literary and scientific contributors, and will form a companion to that work.' Now, if it be true, that this series has been for *some time* in preparation, or even in contemplation, we marvel not a little that it should start with a Life of his late Majesty. The line of distinction between the "Cyclopædia" and the "Library", is not very intelligibly indicated; and unless the latter is to contain the mere sweepings and shreds of the former, we fear that it will not prove of any advantage to the original undertaking.

manders. On this circumstance, Sir Walter discourses as follows.

‘As a lesson of tactics, the Scots might derive from this great action, principles on which they might have gained many other victories. Robert Bruce had shewn them, that he could rid the phalanx of Scottish spearmen of the fatal annoyance of the English archery, and that, secured against their close and continued volleys of arrows, the infantry could experience little danger from the furious charge of the men at arms. Yet, in no battle, save that of Bannockburn, do we observe the very obvious movement of dispersing the bowmen by means of light horse, ever thought of, or at least adopted; although it is obvious, that the same charge which drove the English archers from the field, might have enabled the bowmen of Scotland to come into the action, with unequal powers, perhaps, but with an effect which might have been formidable, when unopposed.’

This is hasty writing. It seems ‘very obvious’ to ask, why the same means which drove off the English archery, might not also drive away the Scottish bowmen; and it is by no means unimportant to remark, that ‘men-at-arms’ were not ‘light horse’. But the whole comment moves upon an entire misconception of the matter. The manœuvre was not a thing of course, to be repeated on all occasions, and under every possible variety of circumstances: it was a result, not a ‘principle.’ Had the archers been protected by stakes or trenches, had they been flanked by cavalry, or covered by a line of infantry, kneeling with extended lances, over which they might securely shoot their fatal ‘arrow-flight’, nothing of this would have happened; and it is as far too much to suppose that, on all future occasions, English generals were as negligent as those of Bannockburn, as to ascribe to every Scottish commander the skill and energy of Bruce. But the fact is, that it was a regular point of tactics, to strike at the archery by a charge of cavalry. All the great battles in France were begun by the French *gens d’armes*, and their first object was the archer brigade. At Crecy, they were thrown into confusion by the close and tremendous discharge of the bowmen, just as a charge of horse would now be checked by a close and near-handed volley from a line of musquetry, before it could reach the bayonets. At Poitiers, again, it was the recommendation of Eustace de Ribault, that the first blow should be made at the English archers; and it had equally been the care of the Black Prince and his officers, to post them safely, and to provide for their protection. Nor was Henry, at Azincour, less solicitous for the security of that invaluable arm; and his precautions defeated the judicious measures taken by the French general for destroying it, by the charge of cavalry, detached for that express purpose. Our recollections of the various

battles fought between the Scots and English, are not minute enough to enable us to extend these illustrations in that direction; but we have cited instances enough to prove, that the manœuvre in question was well understood, as a common element of military tactics.

Sir James Mackintosh, unlike Sir Walter, does not excel in compressed narrative, and we had marked several passages, in which the common coherence of language is hardly kept up. But, on the other hand, his comments and elucidations are admirable, throwing a powerful and striking light both on the stream, and on the conspicuous points of English history. We are right glad to perceive that he has found it impossible to comprise his History within the narrow limits prescribed to him; and we shall be much gratified by the continuance and extension of those fine constitutional illustrations which enrich the volume in our hands. Mr. Moore, who has undertaken the History of Ireland, will find the difficulties of his task enhanced by the success of his knightly rivals; and we wait with no little curiosity for the appearance of his volumes.

The multifarious publications of the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge", we find it impossible to notice in detail, or to bestow upon them that critical attention which their magnitude and importance might seem to require. We have felt it our duty, on one occasion, to offer some admonitory remarks, in reference to the exceptionable tendency, as well as incompetent execution of one Number of the First Series; and there has been enough matter of a similar quality in other portions, though, perhaps, not so palpable or so easily detected, to keep up and justify a feeling of jealousy on this head. Nor can we think that the Writers employed by the Society, have been always successful in maintaining the due medium between the abstruse and the superficial. In this opinion, we gather from the Society's recent Report, that we are by no means singular; and the North American Reviewers, in a recent Number of their Journal, express their dissatisfaction with this series of publications, in the following strong and pointed representation.

'Some one of the British Journals,' in speaking of the prolific press of the English Society named above, (the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,) 'says, rather freely, "We wonder where Brougham can find the men to write all these tracts." Now we must as freely say, though without designing the least disrespect, certainly, to that distinguished individual, or his praiseworthy coadjutors, that it seems to us, they might find them any where. The truth is,—and the truth in this case is a matter of so much disappointment and regret to us, that we cannot suppress the expression of it,—there is a most lamentable want of tact, not to say talent in these

publications. No doubt the first series is sufficiently learned, that is, the scientific part of it, though we cannot wonder, certainly, that men should be found to do this work for a fair consideration. But the want of talent appears in this, that there is no adaptation in these tracts, for the purpose for which they were avowedly written. They are wholly unfit for the *diffusion of knowledge* among the mass of the people, or among the mass of general readers. And when this deficiency was confessed, though not remedied in the current series, as it ought to have been the moment it was discovered; when a new series is brought forward, as if starting anew would better help the matter; when, we say, a new series (the Library of Entertaining Knowledge) is got up, on purpose to correct the preceding error, what have we but a collection of children's stories about Menageries and Forests; descriptions that look like a traveller's memoranda of trees and plants; rambling anecdotes about dogs, cats, and jackals; and all this, with scarcely any pretension to philosophical classification or instructive inference? Our brethren across the water must pardon us if we express ourselves somewhat strongly; for we have looked to them for the best thing that could be done; we have rejoiced at their great and noble undertaking; we have actually had visions of the good they were to do, and confess it we must, we are grievously disappointed. The truth is, the first failure seems to have led to a separation of things which it was their very business and intention to unite. Of scientific books we had enough before; entertaining and intelligible treatises too, such as Goldsmith's and St. Pierre's; but the object of the Society was to give these matters a form sufficiently scientific for the best purposes of instruction, and yet to render them intelligible and interesting. Now its first series of tracts had enough of scientific classification, but was not intelligible to the mass of readers. To remedy this, the Society has issued a second series; but by this arrangement, being unwilling to trench upon the ground of the first, they have cut themselves off from a large portion of the field of interesting and useful instruction; and that, too, the best portion. For instance, in the first series, the subject of Vegetable Physiology was treated of; a subject which yields the most interesting results for mental and moral contemplation. But in the second, as this ground was pre-occupied, we have only an account of the general aspects and qualities of trees and plants; all very proper, and such as might have answered a very good purpose, if it could have been introduced to clothe the dry and barren limbs of the first. So, again, we have Animal Mechanics in the first series, and the forms and habitudes of animals in the second. Now it does seem to us, that a work may be produced, with enough of scientific classification and detail on the one hand, and yet, on the other, intelligible, interesting, exciting and satisfying inquiry, gratifying the natural curiosity of the mind, directing it to the practical applications of science, and *exalting it to that devotion which is its great end*. It might, indeed, be a work and one of the noblest works, of united learning, genius, taste, and piety.'

North Amer. Rev. No. lxvii. pp. 293—5.

There is, we think it must be confessed, much force in these remarks, which commend themselves to the serious attention

not only of the Useful and Entertaining Society, but of all other trading projectors of libraries and cyclopedias. It is now sufficiently evident, that great names, a splendid committee, with chairman, vice-chairman, &c., and all the pomp of a Society, afford no guarantee whatever, that the publications put forth under such high sanction, shall be of superior merit or value. The design of the institutors and supporters of the Society, was, we have not the least doubt, patriotic and disinterested; but they have not gone the best way to work in carrying it into effect. They have not availed themselves, as they might have done, either of our extant literature, or of the talents of our best writers. They have brought to market a cheap article, by which they have undersold and injured the regular tradesman and the original author, without conferring any commensurate benefit upon the public. In short, Dr. Lardner has shewn himself more than a match, single-handed, for the whole Society; and the inadequate results of this joint-stock manufactory of cheap literature may serve to shew, that these things are much better left to individual enterprise, the responsibility of accredited authorship, and the legitimate competition of the regular trade.

With regard to one requisite feature of such publications, that which should render them conducive to the interests of piety, the Society, from its very constitution, were pledged to that neutrality which is, in its character and tendency, irreligious. 'Learning, genius, taste', they might have enlisted in their service, by holding out adequate encouragement; but 'piety', either in the shape of theological knowledge or devotional sentiment, was excluded altogether. It is needless to say, that no branch of metaphysics, or of mixed literature, can be either competently, faithfully, or usefully treated, on this principle of atheistic neutrality. We have no intention, nevertheless, to retract the warm approbation bestowed, in our last Number, upon some of the volumes of the second series, the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, which appears to have been committed to judicious editorship, and in which there is a laudable solicitude evinced to convey moral instruction. For cheapness, profuse illustration, and agreeable information, we know nothing equal to them. We may take this opportunity, however, of suggesting a partial melioration in their wood-cutting: there might be more spirit and more distinctness, more, in short, of the artist, with great advantage. But we would more especially urge a decided improvement in the mode of taking off the impressions: they are seldom particularly good, and are frequently so faint and misty as to be nearly unintelligible.

Among the host of 'Libraries' on the same periodical plan, passing over several which we have not seen nor care to see,

there is one of which we must seriously regret the appearance; not only because nothing is gained by it, but because something is positively lost by the discouragement which must result to liberal and original enterprise. A series of small volumes, under the inappropriate title of "The Family Classical Library", professes to be a selection of the various translations of classical authors, which have been long lying loose on the market, and thus to form a body of ancient literature, easy of access and rich in information. We can quite comprehend the advantage that may accrue to the printer or publisher from this bright scheme, but we have puzzled ourselves in vain to guess in what way the public is to be a gainer. In the republication of old editions, there is no sacrifice for the purchase of copyright, and the projector risks nothing but the cost of paper and print. Beloe's Herodotus is, we see, among these Translations; whether with or without correction, we are not aware; but if it be not materially corrected, no justice is done either to the Father of history, or to his English readers. Taylor's is worth a hundred such versions. We take it for granted, since "The Family Classical Library" is to be adapted for *youth of both sexes*, that Beloe's version will at least be cleansed from its occasional grossness of phraseology. Still, it is a most inadequate performance, and has been entirely superseded by a far better translation. Had Mr. Valpy's scheme included new and accurate versions of the less accessible classics, it would have had a far better title to public patronage. If, for instance, he would present to us a good and critical English Pausanias, he would confer an obligation upon us. But, judging from the specimen referred to, the printer and the stationer are the only parties likely to reap much advantage from this very superfluous publication.

Another precious speculation is the reprint of the works of 'the most esteemed Divines of the Church of England',—Sherlock, Hall, Beveridge, Paley, Jeremy Taylor, &c. 'It is not expected, that the whole series will exceed fifty monthly volumes.' Such is, assuredly, *our* expectation: we question whether it reaches half that number. Whereas, were the series to run out to the requisite extent, so as to include the voluminous works of the Authors named in the prospectus, it must exceed twice fifty. But can any thing be more absurd than the proposal to reprint 'in regular series', the works of Paley, for instance, which are already to be had in every shape, and at the lowest possible price;—Jeremy Taylor, of whose collected works we have so excellent an edition, with his Life by Bishop Heber, at a reasonable charge;—Beveridge, of whose works certainly no new edition is wanted;—Hall, whose Contemplations have just been reprinted in 12mo., and of whose

complete works, in ten volumes, an edition has not long been consumed, which has sufficiently stocked our libraries. If Mr. Valpy wishes to do himself credit, or the clergy a service, he must adopt a very different mode of proceeding. Instead of pirating the stock books of the trade, and reprinting authors whose works are already sufficiently accessible, he will take competent advice as to the scarce or neglected theological writers, of which a cheap and commodious republication would be a real benefit to the public. We should be glad to recognise a little more of the M.A. in his undertakings, and less of the mere printer. What we chiefly want is, not Collections, but Selections. Few, indeed, are the writers whose complete works merit the room they occupy in a private library. The system of mere accumulation has been pushed to its full extent; but readers are now beginning to be a little more frugal in their purchases; and it will be found out in time, that a library, to be really available for the purposes of intellectual improvement, must be formed upon a very different principle of combination and discernment.

While in the act of penning these remarks, the first volume of yet another series of publications has reached us,—“History in all Ages”, published by “the Proprietors of publications on Christian Principles.” Who these Proprietors are, we know not; but of their undertaking, how well soever designed, we must speak frankly and decidedly. It will not do. The volume they have put forth, will sufficiently stamp the plan with the mark of utter incompetency. It is a Universal History in the form of question and answer,—the most unreadable shape in which it could be presented, and of course, as a history, meagre, spiritless, and feeble. But we must protest against the vague announcement of a series of works written upon Christian principles, as an offensive pretension, if not a mere mercantile decoy. Have we, then, no histories, no school-books written upon Christian principles? What are Mr. Morrell’s School histories? What are Mrs. Hack’s admirable little volumes? There is no lack of that very description of works which these proprietors kindly undertake to supply. We could engage to furnish them with an ample list of publications quite as unequivocally marked by Christian principles as this specimen volume, which is certainly doomed to be made waste paper.

That our standard literature is not more richly imbued with Christian principles, cannot, indeed, be too deeply lamented; but the evil admits of but one remedy,—the consecration of solid learning and first-rate talents and acquirements to the interests of genuine Scriptural religion, and the creation of a new literature worthy of displacing that which is anti-Christian in its spirit, by its superior execution as well as better philosophy.

The habits of this busy, superficial age scarcely admit, we fear, of even the conception, much less of the competent achievement of such a noble project. Under all this outward activity, there lies concealed a mental sluggishness in the mass of society, which yields only to the excitement of the passing novelty,—the newspaper, the novel, the Review, or the miscellany. *Diffusion*, it has been justly remarked, is the watchword of the day, but it is diffusion without depth; and time alone can shew, whether the moral soil has been fertilized by the deposit, or washed away by the inundation. The breaking up of the aristocracy of knowledge, would be a circumstance in which we should cordially rejoice, were it not, that there can be no real wealth without accumulation. We have no objection to the introduction of rail-roads into literature; but still, other objects must not be lost sight of in the mere saving of time; and those who seek to reap the full benefit of literary excursions, will prefer the old road.

As a matter of mere curiosity, we shall conclude this desultory article with an enumeration of the 'Libraries', 'Cabinets', and 'Cyclopedias', which have been either commenced or announced for publication, so far as they have reached our knowledge. We will begin with the publications of the Diffusion Society. 1. The Library of Useful Knowledge. 2. The Library of Entertaining Knowledge. 3. Murray's Family Library. 4. Ditto, Juvenile Series. 5. Constable's Miscellany. 6. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia. 7. Lardner's Cabinet Library. 8. Family Classical Library. 9. Valpy's Divines of the Church of England. 10. The Vestry Library. (*Discontinued*.) 11. Library of Religious Knowledge. (*Discontinued*.) 12. Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge. 13. Colburn's Juvenile Library. 14. Colburn's Library of General Knowledge. 15. Sharpe's Library of the Belles Lettres. To these we may add, 16. Collins's Christian Classics. 17. Tract Society edition of the Reformers. 18. Oliver and Boyd's Geographical Cabinet,—not yet published, but a palpable attempt to pirate the plan of the Modern Traveller. 19. Publications on Christian Principles!! Such is the facility of production in the literary world, when set in action by one fortunate speculation! The folly will work its own cure; and the very name of a 'Library' will, before long, become a *caveat*. The volumes of intrinsic interest will live; but it will be found out in time, that the best books are at last the cheapest, and that *multum, non multa*, is an axiom not to be disregarded by those who would be the wiser for their knowledge.

Art. II. *The Work of the Holy Spirit in Conversion, considered in its Relation to the Condition of Man, and the Ways of God: with Practical Addresses to a Sinner, on the Principles maintained.* By John Howard Hinton, A.M. 12mo. pp. xxiv. 390. Price 6s. London, 1830.

WE may do much better for Mr. Hinton, and for his argument, than follow him through the steps of it, whether it were to approve, to amend, or to reprobate his reasonings; namely,—shew our readers good reasons why they should bestow upon the book a careful and candid attention. We say then at once, and without judging his cause, that we deem the work worthy of serious perusal; and we think the Christian ministry, especially the younger members of it, can do no less than consider, whether the Author's averments relative to the principal cause of the small success of preaching be well founded, or not.

'If', says Mr. H. in his Preface, 'if there is one class of persons, who should more especially feel themselves called upon to give the subject of this treatise the most patient and dispassionate attention, and who should most resolutely spurn the fetters of previous opinion and customary phrases, it is surely the ministers of the gospel, whose voice is heard above all others in the instruction of mankind, and whose labours exert so powerful an influence in the formation of public opinion. How important it is for those to speak according to truth, who speak for God; and for those to lead in the right path, whom so many take blindly for their guides! How soon would the most deep-rooted and wide-spreading errors be exterminated, if the whole public ministry lifted up its voice against them! In all corrections of error, the ministry ought not to follow, but to lead. I am aware, indeed, of the difficulty which there is in doing so. I know that certain forms of sentiment and phraseology sometimes acquire in the eyes of the people a greater sanctity than even the word of God, and I am far from condemning the spirit which dictates tenderness to the prejudices of pious persons; yet, it is surely possible to carry such a spirit too far, and, in our unwillingness to wound their feelings, to spare and confirm their mistakes. There is little pleasure in encountering prejudices, but there may be in it an urgent duty, and out of it may arise important results. At all events, the path of the man of God is clear. He has to speak the truth, plainly and fearlessly, save the fear of Him by whose ultimate approbation we stand or fall; and perilous will his account be, who shall stand convicted at another day of having kept back any part of the counsel of God, because his people might not like to hear it. If, however, the ministers of the gospel will not *lead* in the progress of truth, they must *follow*; for, with or without them, *truth will prevail*. Though less rapidly, she will diffuse her light among the people, whatever may be the ignorance or hostility of any portion of the priesthood. When it is seen that she conquers, all will be pleased to be on the triumphant side; and not least of all the author

himself, whose recantation shall not be delayed a moment, when it can be shewn to be demanded by the sovereign authority to which he bows.

‘The subject is the more earnestly to be pressed upon the consideration of the ministers of the gospel, because of its intimate connexion with the revival of religion, a topic to which a measure, though as yet a small measure, of public attention has been drawn. I cannot suppress my conviction, that one reason why the preaching of the divine word has been far less powerful in our land than might have been expected, considering the multitude of voices employed in it, and far less powerful, too, than it has been in a country where such exertions are much less abundant, is to be found in the influence of the sentiment of man’s inability for his duty.’ pp. xx—xxii.

Theological discussion on great and principal points, can scarcely expand itself to any advantage within the narrow limits of an article in a monthly journal; and can be proper there, only on special occasions. We do not therefore propose either to defend or to impugn the positions of the volume before us, but shall simply adduce our reasons for recommending it in a decisive manner to the attention of our readers.

Mr. Hinton, we can assure them, belongs not to the class of men who, by command of language or brilliancy of fancy, are able to recommend to the crowd each changeful enormity of their imaginations, and are every day, on some new theme, impugning the general sentiment of the Church with a brawling arrogance. He is not to be numbered with those whose virulence and immense vanity swallow up such merit as they in fact possess, and nullify such good influence as they might otherwise exert. On the contrary, while he gives proof enough of the masculine independence of his mind, he advances no preposterous claim to the honours and prerogatives of a *Reformer*;—he attacks old prejudices (or what he deems to be such) with reluctance, and, in shewing forcibly his reasons, is not at all pugnacious. This is no small praise for a controversialist. A man, especially a younger man, who is impelled by conscience to impugn long-established usages or opinions, should assuredly shew a grain or two of modesty; and he who would *lead*, should be no striker;—the knotted club beseems not the hand of the shepherd. Moreover, Mr. Hinton, besides exhibiting an intellectual independence and a proper spirit, is a shrewd, perspicuous, and compact reasoner in the *forensic* style. We say the forensic, in distinction from the metaphysical, or strictly philosophical style. And perhaps, it may be granted, that theological controversy, which consists more (or ought to consist more) in deductions from a document, than in inferences from abstract principles, is better treated by men of this order of mind, than by those whose faculty of analysis is of a

higher sort. If called upon to illustrate the distinction we have adverted to, we might refer to our Author's preliminary chapters on the structure and operation of the human mind, and to his definitions of terms, which are very lucid, very exact, and very proper to the purpose of his argument, while they exhibit but little of the qualities of the philosophic spirit. Nor is this to be regretted. It ought never to be affirmed or supposed, that the important practical questions of Christian doctrine must stand over for the decision of minds of that sort that do not appear in the world much oftener than once or twice in a century; and in the *Church*, hardly once in a thousand years.

But without being a philosopher, Mr. H. is, as we think, well entitled, as a theologian, to use a challenge such as the following.

"The perplexity and difficulty which have been thrown into discussions such as those which are now before us, by the use of ill-adapted or ill-defined phraseology, or by neglecting to distinguish the strict from the analogical use of words, must be the author's apology for dwelling so long on these introductory matters. When a subject is either intricate in itself, or has become so through unskilful management, nothing is more conducive to its successful investigation than definitions and distinctions. In these, indeed, the very crisis of the argument lies. The differences that occur in the details of it frequently throw the disputants back upon some more general topic; so that until these are understood and agreed upon, the course of subordinate reasoning is perpetually broken, and can never be satisfactorily prosecuted. The Author intends and hopes to use all his principal terms strictly in the meaning he has assigned to them, and to adhere rigidly to the principles of mental and moral philosophy which he has laid down. Such of his readers as may agree with him in these, will form agreeable companions to him in his course, and he has a cheerful hope of gaining their acquiescence in his conclusions; but to what purpose should any go further, who dissent from these axioms? To such readers his reasonings must always appear fallacious, and objections continually arise, throwing us back on points which should have been previously determined. The decision of the religious argument is involved in the principles of moral philosophy from which we set out; and all who may differ from the author upon these, he requests to proceed no further, but to apply their thoughts to the reconsideration of them: for if the difference should be irreconcilable here, it would be sure to be so every where else, and it would be better to part at once, with mutual expressions of candour and good-will, than to prolong a discussion which may irritate, but cannot convince. Should they choose to continue their perusal of this little work, he hopes they will do him, not the favour, but the justice, to recollect the sense he has given to his own terms, that, at all events, whatever they may think of his arguments, they may judge fairly of his consistency. If any should pre-

for passing by the general argument altogether, the author will meet them again with pleasure on the plain and decisive ground of scripture testimony.' pp. 76, 77.

Having affirmed our opinion of the Author's competency to treat the subject he has chosen, and his personal claim to a respectful hearing, we have only to shew reason for entertaining questions of this sort in the present day, and after they have been a hundred times laboriously treated by our predecessors.

Such reasons might be drawn from the history of any half century of Christianity that might be taken at hazard, since the Reformation, and which would, as we conceive, abundantly prove the necessity of very frequent and very rigorous revisions of the style and terms of orthodox preaching and writing; and would shew, that those partial, extravagant, hyperbolical, or systematic modes of expressing the common faith, which spring up anew in every age, and run over the surface of the Church, and become, after a time, stagnant nuisances, require to be perpetually well looked into and often cleared away. But this subject is a copious one, and not now to be pursued.

To take a shorter course, we might take the liberty to say to every Christian preacher:—Is the Gospel in *your* hands successful? Does it accomplish, to any notable extent, its purposes? Is it most a ministration of life or of death to them that hear it from your lips? If the latter be the melancholy fact, should not the cause of failure be sought for? We would venture to affirm, that it is to be found written legibly, either upon the front of your services,—upon the style of your personal character,—upon the colour of your reputation as a Christian,—upon your quality as a teacher,—or, not improbably, upon the mask you have unwittingly attached to the face divine of Heavenly Truth. Would you talk of the inscrutable conduct of the Sovereign Agent in withholding the necessary influence? Rather bear the blame, than thus throw it upon the skies!

The Gospel of the grace of God, which in its native power "bringeth salvation to all men", may be preached in the utmost exactness of orthodoxy, and yet be rendered impotent, or even noxious, under the process of translation. What is every man's preaching, but a translation of the doctrine he reads in Scripture? If, then, the case be so,—we mean, if the preacher is compelled to acknowledge, that the message of salvation as delivered to men by him, gains extremely little attention from the irreligious, and, among those who do listen to it, produces extremely little fruit,—it behooves him, in all conscience and honesty, to seek for the reason of the disappointment of his

prayers and labours; and he should seek for it in all directions, and should look especially the nearest home.

Now men like Mr. Hinton offer their aid in conducting such an inquiry. He says to his brethren:—‘ You do not oftener convert the sinner from the error of his way, because you open your parley with him by putting into his hand an excuse for his unbelief. You palliate his crime, and then wonder he does not confess its enormity’. A challenge like this, we say, should be met candidly, kindly, and assiduously. We wish not to interfere in the controversy; and we abstain from doing so, as well from other motives, as because we have before us just now, a writer who brings us upon nearly the same ground, in a manner which more invites a vigorous application of the mind to the argument, and to whom, if leisure serves, we purpose ere long to give attention. Meanwhile, we strongly urge our young clerical readers to peruse the work of Mr. Hinton. It is perspicuous, fair, and liable, as we think, to no serious reprehension in regard to its temper and manner.

Or we ought, perhaps, to make a single exception. Nevertheless, so far as Mr. Hinton is actually in fault, he shares blame with some of the most distinguished controvertists of every age. We refer to that mode of arguing for a theological position, which consists of shewing, that the contrary doctrine impiously impugns the Divine character in its attributes of benevolence or wisdom. This order of proof, as every one knows, was hideously abused by the champions on both sides of the controversy carried on between the two classes of Methodists in the last century; and the devout Fletcher of Madeley has furnished an instance which should never be forgotten, of the danger of so confiding in the truth of certain favourite dogmas, as to stake all consequences upon the contrary. Alas! if John Fletcher’s Gospel should, after all, turn out to have been not precisely the Gospel of the Bible, nothing (according to his own shewing) remains for him, good man, but to take side against Heaven, with the reprobate and their infernal king! But he has learned more modesty since writing the ‘ Checks to Antinomianism’, and has (may we not imagine?) once and again been despatched joyously to usher into the celestial tabernacle, some who, if we are to believe his writings, were nothing better than impudent blasphemers!

Men accustomed to look at religion and at mankind comprehensively, or even men merely guided by a correct taste, will be extremely slow to expatiate upon those consequences, affecting the character of God, which they may think to flow from certain misliked principles. They very well know, that, so long as the actual state of mankind continues to be, morally and spiritually, such as it is, consequences which every pious mind

abhors, may, with a little dexterity, be shewn to flow from this, that, or the other form of doctrine. We would engage to take Mr. Hinton's 'Theology', and draw from it, very plausibly, inferences of a sort which he would indignantly disclaim. If he disbelieves us, or wonders how this could be done, it must be, we think, because he is somewhat more accustomed to look upon man and his destinies as a theologian, than as a philosopher*. To justify our criticism, we might adduce many single phrases scattered through the book; but, that the Author may not fail to understand our meaning, we refer him to paragraphs such as those found at page 135, and some following pages, and again at page 299. Expressions occurring at page 115, accord but little with our notions of propriety; still less the apostrophe at page 298; nor should we ourselves adopt the mode of illustration used in the 13th chapter, on the 'Tendency of the Doctrine'.

These exceptions made, we must repeat our approbation of Mr. Hinton's manner as a theological reasoner, and our opinion of the useful tendency of his book. We can accuse him neither of too much vehemence in defending his position, nor of a disposition to tamper with the plain sense of Scripture; and we give him full credit for sincerity in making the profession, that,

'It will occasion the Writer the deepest affliction, if, however unconsciously, he have been led in these remarks to alter or to diminish the full and true import of the divine word; and unutterably would he be ashamed of himself, if he could harbour a wish to evade, in however unwelcome a direction, the force of truth: but as, on the one hand, he hopes he has no aim but to know the mind of Christ; so, on the other, he solemnly believes what he has stated to be the correct expression of that mind, so far as the passages examined are concerned. He has not, perhaps, adduced every text on which stress has been laid in this discussion; but those which have been brought forward, he hopes are fair specimens of the classes to which they belong, and sufficient to establish and illustrate the principles on which the whole are to be interpreted. Nothing is more true or more important than the sentiment, that the express and direct sense of scripture, wherever it can be ascertained, must determine every matter of religious opinion; but the case before us is one in which this very maxim has been made the foundation and the bulwark of an extensive and long prevalent error. The declaration that men *cannot* come to Christ, having been once supposed to mean that they have *no power* to do so, the force with which this is asserted seems to have attached to the mistake a most unmerited character of sacredness and inviolability. Whatever might

* We never employ the word *philosopher* in connection with religion, because we like it, but because we know of no other that can take its place.

be disputed, this must not be called in question, because it was expressly asserted; and he who would dare to suggest a doubt of it could not but incur the heaviest accusations of heterodoxy and heresy. Slender basis for so vast a superstructure! Upon what films can wide-spreading errors be established! The whole is but an oversight; a mere inadvertency, in misinterpreting analogical phraseology as though it were literal, and thus throwing out of view other portions of the divine word, a fearless examination of which would instantly have dispelled the delusion. The Writer yields to no man in his willingness to submit to the direct sense of scripture; he has no higher aim than to ascertain the mind of the Spirit therein. If he contends against what has long been held to be the express sense of scripture, it is because he is convinced that it is a mistake; and he calls upon his brethren opposed to him in argument, to abide by their own principle, and to vindicate their claim to a supreme veneration for God's word. Which do they love best; their system, which they have long imagined the word of God to support; or the word of God, which they may now perceive leaves their system to fall? The Writer hopes and believes the latter: but the result will declare it.' pp. 205—207.

If we had given ourselves the task of fully reviewing the volume before us, we should have felt it necessary to sift a little our Author's claim to originality on the ground he occupies, and should have endeavoured to adjust the matter between himself and the great Andrew Fuller. But this is a point of minor importance; and without determining it, we cordially hail Mr. Hinton as an able labourer in the same field. We can wish for him nothing better, than that he may be aided to advance with caution, humility, and simplicity of intention, upon the path he is following.

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- Art. III. 1. *Reasons for Secession from the Church of England*. By the late William Hurn, Minister at the Chapel, Woodbridge; formerly Vicar of Debenham, Suffolk, and Chaplain to the late Duchess Dowager of Chandos. 8vo. pp. 338. Price 7s. 6d. London. 1830.
2. *Principles of Dissent*. By Thomas Scales. 18mo. pp. 270. Price 2s. 6d. London. 1830.
3. *Ecclesiæ Decus et Tutamen*. The Extension, Security, and Moral Influence of the United Church of England and Ireland, augmented by a Revision of its Economy, Discipline, and Ritual, and by its Alliance with other Branches of the British Reformation, on the Basis of Mutual Aid and Concession. By the Rev. John Riland, M.A. Curate of Yoxall, Staffordshire. 12mo. pp. 298. London. 1830.

FROM a number of publications relating to the general subject of Ecclesiastical Reform, which have been soliciting our notice, we select these three for present examination; partly on account of their intrinsic interest, and partly because they

will afford us an opportunity of offering a few observations on the bearing of the subject of Church Reform upon the 'principles of Dissent'. We approach the discussion not without reluctance, both from an increasing dislike to polemics, and as knowing that the calm language and moderate views which become a literary Journal, are not likely to be palatable to partisans on either side.

The Author of the first volume on our list, was a highly respected clergyman of the Establishment. Mr. Hurn was born in December 1754; was ordained by Bishop Yonge in 1781; was preferred to the Vicarage of Debenham in 1790; and for two and thirty years, prosecuted his unremitting and eminently successful labours in the National Church. In the year 1822, he came to the resolution of resigning his living, and seceding from the Establishment. In the Farewell Discourse which he preached to his flock, he 'judiciously avoided assigning reasons for adopting so extraordinary a procedure, but intimated to his deeply afflicted people, that they should be made known through the medium of the press.'

'His removal to a new situation,' say the Editors, 'and the numerous duties devolving upon him, prevented the immediate accomplishment of his design. When it pleased the Lord to visit him with the affliction which terminated his valuable life and labours, October 9, 1829, he expressed his conviction that he should be prevented personally vindicating his conduct in seceding from the Establishment, (a design, he assured us, he had never relinquished,) and committed the MS. to our care, with earnest entreaties that it should be neither altered nor abridged; observing: "I am probably upon my dying bed, and know of no reason why I should retract a single word. I have composed it with much labour and research, and have revised it throughout with prayer and deliberation, and trust I have been enabled to write according to the word and will of God, and for the good of souls."'

Mr. Hurn's determination to secede from the Established Church, was not, he informs us, a sudden thing, but a point at which he arrived by gradual advances, and after much serious deliberation and mental conflict. From the time that he first took preferment, he became subject to the uneasiness which issued in this result. The cause of this uneasiness was, 'the extremely rigorous terms imposed upon every conforming minister,' and 'the hardship' which the clergy lie under, in being compelled to adopt the prescribed terms respecting the Book of Common Prayer, notwithstanding 'the unscriptural character of several things' in that formulary. That Mr. Hurn was not singular in this feeling of uneasiness, is sufficiently proved by the bold and candid avowal of the Curate of Yoxall.

' I will at once concede my own inconsistency, as a minister of the Anglican Church, in continuing to receive its emoluments, perform its services, and rank among its ostensible supporters, while I have drawn up and published what, it is conceived, will be considered as the longest and heaviest indictment ever presented by a clergyman against his brethren and himself. The jury of my country will, however, judge when they have heard the cause—for I will be further inconsistent, by demanding a trial after an avowal of guilt—whether my crime does not principally consist in the act of having written *more* than others, and in having clothed with words the thoughts of a thousand bosoms.

* The examples adduced in former chapters, of the discontent, disappointment, perplexity, and aspiration after reform in every branch of the Establishment, felt by numbers, from the early days of the fathers of the English Church down to more recent times—and of such illustrations I have furnished but a meagre portion—do certainly justify the present complainant, as far as any cause may be defended by great names; and by the allegation, that the accused party advances only the repetition of former remonstrances, merely dressed up in the fashion of the current age.

' Now, when I reflect that every beneficed clergyman affirms, with all the solemnity of a religious obligation, "I, A. B. do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled the Book of Common Prayer, &c. &c. &c."—a declaration including also the liturgical version of the Psalms, and the Ordination and Consecration Offices; which latter alone have created very serious doubts in the minds of many;—and, further, that every unbeneficed clergyman *uses* such liturgy; I cannot understand by what interpretation, consistent with the stern dictates of truth, we can evade the conclusion, that every syllable of the formularies so affirmed is entirely coincident with his own opinions.

' This reflection awakens the painful remembrance, that never have the arts of evasion, sophistry, palliation, and management, been more notoriously developed, than in attempts to explain away the strictness of subscription to the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies. It is quite needless to exhibit here the threadbare evidence of this fact. Indeed, the very nature of the case proves the thing; from the necessary consequence of offering to an immense body of men, whose opinions are infinitely diversified, and incapable of being combined into any system beyond a few undisputed generalities, a series of formularies embracing a vast and complicated variety of positions, brought together at different periods, and by collectors of discordant sentiments. The accumulation, thus provided, was certain to produce, what it has produced,—among other results, the present effort to restore the symmetry of the British Reformation.' *Riland*, pp. 265—267.

Mr. Riland goes so far as to affirm, that "no serious Christian is positively satisfied with the Thirty-nine Articles, as they now stand"; and that there is scarcely any objection against the doctrine, ritual, and discipline of the Establishment, advanced by Dissenters, but what may be found in the writings

'of our own prelates and divines.' With the exception of those objections which relate to the Establishment as an Establishment, and which would apply to every similar alliance between Church and State, this latter representation is entirely correct.

Now the first reflection which suggests itself, after reading these avowals from clergymen of the Established Church, is one which we may put into the form of inquiry: How are we to account for it, that, if these sentiments are held, such a case of secession as that of Mr. Hurn should be of so very rare and extraordinary occurrence? The objections that weighed so heavily upon his mind as to determine him at length upon seceding from the Establishment which he had so long served and adorned, were precisely of the same description that compelled two thousand evangelical clergymen to secede in a body in the reign of Charles II. The opinions of those seceders upon all points of doctrine and discipline, were almost identically the same as those of the evangelical clergy of the present day. The terms of conformity then imposed, and with which the Nonconforming clergy refused compliance, remain unaltered. And yet, those terms have not, on the one hand, prevented the revival of evangelical religion within the Established Church, which it was the avowed object of the law of uniformity to exclude; nor, on the other, have they, in latter times, been deemed by those who share in Mr. Hurn's uneasiness and dissatisfaction, a valid reason for nonconformity. Such is the simple fact; and it concerns, we think, both Churchmen and Dissenters, to find an explanation of what will appear the more extraordinary, the more it is reflected upon. Supposing, for argument's sake, that Mr. Hurn was wrong in leaving the Church, that the Nonconformists were wrong, and that the Dissenters are wrong, we might fairly suppose, considering the diversity of men's minds, that the same erroneous views would be adopted, from time to time, by very many individuals within the Establishment, and that, on coming to such erroneous conclusions, they would secede as he did. But, with the exception of the heretical secession which took place a few years ago, and which has terminated in the return of some of the parties to the communion they had renounced, and the utter extinction of the sect, the secessions have been, of late, almost exclusively from the ranks of Dissent, *to* and not *from* the Establishment.

That a difference of opinion should exist, respecting the lawfulness of conformity, is not at all surprising. It existed in the early days of nonconformity. While Baxter and Calamy each refused a bishopric, Reynolds accepted one; and the terms with which Howe, and Owen, and Bates, and Henry felt unable to comply, Gurnall yielded to. That which we regard as requiring explanation, is, that what two thousand clergymen

deemed insupportable and unlawful in 1662, should not, by any chance, appear so to more than one out of two thousand of the same class, in 1822. On the one hand, it cannot be decently urged, that Howe, and Owen, and Baxter, were but ideots and drivellers, whose conduct is to be set down to mere weakness or perverseness; nor, on the other, are we prepared to maintain, that those eminent men were immeasurably superior in integrity and heroism to their successors of the present generation. It is our sincere conviction, that those clergymen who cling to the Establishment in the present day, notwithstanding a secret uneasiness, or an avowed dissatisfaction with its ritual, or at least its discipline, are not less upright men than the two thousand who left the Church; nay, that an equal number would now be found, capable of making a similar sacrifice of ease and emolument, if they conscientiously felt that their duty to God required it. We cannot suppose, either that human nature has undergone any change since the era we speak of, or that the English character has suffered some extraordinary deterioration, or that the principles of evangelical religion have lost their practical efficiency, or that the Dissenters possess the absolute monopoly of fearless integrity and disinterestedness; and therefore, we must and do believe, that the clergy of the present day are as honest, if they are not as consistent,—or rather, that their conduct is as consistent with their convictions, whatever inconsistency be chargeable upon their reasonings, as the Confessors whose memory we venerate.

In attempting to throw any light upon this state of things, we are aware of the delicate ground upon which we are treading; but, after the above avowal, neither our motives nor our spirit will, we hope, be brought into suspicion. And first, we may remark, that that portion of evil, physical or political, which has blended itself with the circumstances in which we find ourselves, and to the presence and pressure of which we have been accustomed, is far more easily submitted to, than a comparatively inconsiderable evil with which we have not been familiarized. Weight is measured by the power of resistance, and that power is increased by habit; so that evils of long continuance in political systems, such as the oppression and privation to which many nations have been subject from time immemorial, interfere far less with individual happiness, than sudden reverses, or than smaller evils of recent growth. For the fact is, that the mind accommodates its views, predilections, and expectations to the condition which has become by usage natural. And thus it is, even with the contemplation of moral evil. What is unprecedented, strange, or new to us, in the crimes of foreign nations, for instance, excites disgust and indignation more than proportioned to the degree of delinquency;

while the disorders of society around us awake a very mitigated sort of reprobation. How pathetically soever men may deplore grievances of long standing, they are impelled to act, only by new grievances. The point at which passive resistance gives way to the impulse of active opposition, is always found to be, when some violence has been offered to the mind by a sudden aggression.

Great revolutions have often been ascribed to seemingly inadequate events, but not without reason. Although other causes may have prepared the way, some trivial circumstance has often supplied the immediate impulse. Or, if not a trivial matter, something which owed its actual effect chiefly to its being an innovation. Luther had submitted to the Papal usurpation, had subscribed to the doctrines of Transubstantiation, Penance, and Purgatory, but the sale of Indulgences converted him into a Reformer. The early Puritans were not disposed to call into question either the doctrines or the authority of the Church, but they stumbled at the ceremonies. The habits of the church were at first the only or chief matter of contention. 'To despise authority', remarks Jeremy Taylor, 'when the obedience is so easy as the wearing of a garment, or doing of a posture, is a greater and more impudent contempt, than to despise authority, imposing a great burden of a more considerable pressure, when human infirmity may tempt to a disobedience, and lessen the crime.' Jeremy Taylor could sometimes write more wisely and more liberally. The pressure of the burden is best known by those who bear it; and to those who have not been broken in to the yoke, a little burden will not seem light, but will make men wince more than the heaviest weight they have been accustomed to carry. Who does not know, that a trifle may do greater violence to national prejudices and to individual feeling, than a serious grievance of long standing? Only let us suppose a decree to go forth from the competent authorities, that all ministers of the Establishment shall henceforth dress in scarlet, and wear beards, on pain of deprivation,—would it awake no contention? Would there be no despisers of authority? Now it was against regulations not a whit more wise, seemly, and politic, that the Puritans contended; and conformity would not be less easy or less proper in the one case, than in the other.

The Act of Uniformity was an act of violence; it came upon the evangelical ministers as a blow, not as a burden; and, by a simultaneous decision, infinitely honourable to their integrity, they acted as it was foreseen and wished that they should act. The intention of the Government could not be mistaken; there was no room for ingenuity in palliating the matter, no time left for considering the question till it should become doubtful;

they were not required to endure, but to act, with the simple alternative of secession or perjury *. Southey, with his notorious polemical dishonesty, which he so freely imputes to every historian whose statements he dislikes, insinuates, that 'the touchstone was a clause, which the Commons introduced, for another qualifying subscription, wherein the subscriber declared it was not lawful upon any pretence to take arms against the king.' To this clause, had it contained nothing else than this, few, if any, of the nonconformists would have objected; although it is to be remembered, that it did not prevent good churchmen from taking arms against James II. only a few years afterwards. The touchstone was, the renunciation of Presbyterian ordination, and the submitting to re-ordination, if they had not been episcopally ordained †; together with the declaration of unfeigned assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer *as then altered*, and to the 'form of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons;' a form of subscription inserted by the Lords. Thus, Neale remarks, 'the terms of conformity were higher than before the civil wars, and the Common Prayer Book more exceptionable.' But, even had the terms been less rigorous, it is not improbable, that the nonconformists would have resisted the iniquitous requisition, which, though invested with the authority of a legislative measure, was known to be the vindictive act of a court party, uniting the characters of an innovation, an insult, and a base and treacherous wrong.

All this, however, is now matter of history; those times have gone by; and the terms of conformity wear in the present day quite a different aspect. They have become part and parcel of a system venerable by usage, and are submitted to as a fixed and unalterable condition, or one which it would be dangerous to disturb. The clergy take things as they find them, feeling only that they are conforming to an established order of things, and acting as others have done before them. They sub-

* 'We will make them all knaves if they conform,' was the declaration of the facetious Bishop Sheldon. This ill consequence, Dr. Southey admits, '*was sure to follow*' from a measure which he nevertheless thinks 'not impolitic and fully justified by the circumstances of the times;'—that 'while some men of genuine piety and exemplary worth were expelled from a Church in the service of which they were worthy to have held a distinguished rank, others retained their benefices, who would have been a reproach to any church, and to whom it was a matter of indifference what they subscribed.' *Hist. of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 483.

† This was with Philip Henry, for example, 'the first and great bar to his conformity.' See his *Life* by Williams, p. 97.

mit to that majestic authority which Hooker has so exquisitely personified, as receiving the homage of all things in heaven and earth; and in conforming to law, they conceive that they are performing an act of virtue. Nay, more, they are but complying with the maternal requisition of that equally venerable Abstraction which the Fathers delight to represent as the consort of Deity. An orthodox Church, a beneficent Government, an enlightened and tolerant bench of ecclesiastical rulers, unite to render this obedience a willing act. What is so easy as to yield assent to that which we have grown up in the habit of approving, or of thinking that we approve? Or, if there be some things that appear indistinctly objectionable, they are regarded not as faults, but as accidental imperfections, inevitably attaching to all sublunary institutions.

‘The case of young men, when first called to take the oaths,’ remarks Mr. Hurn, ‘is particularly affecting. They tread fearlessly in the steps of those whose names they have heard mentioned with honour, and find no difficulty in doing as their fathers had done before them. Or it is taken for granted, that what is established by law, is right; and that it would be unbecoming their age and station to refuse submission, or even to hesitate in that matter. Thus, they are often taken by surprise, and requisitions, involving tremendous consequences, meet them off their guard, through the culpable neglect of parents and tutors. It appears to me, that there is something in these compliances, which numbers cannot look back upon with satisfaction.’ pp. 146, 147.

Now let it be considered, in what very opposite circumstances the Nonconformists were placed. The oaths they were required to take, formed no part of the original compact into which they had entered, or of the constitution of that Church in which they ministered. Those by whom they were imposed, they could not but regard as at once their cruel enemies, and the enemies of the true interests of the Church and religion. The examples to which they must have looked for guidance, were all in favour of resisting the imposition. Thus, we find Philip Henry remarking in his Diary *, that at four several times, and upon four several occasions, ministers of the Church of England had been silenced and ejected for their nonconformity. ‘1. In Queen Mary’s days, because they would not close with popery at the return of it. 2. In Queen Elizabeth’s, King James’s, and King Charles’s days, because they could not conform to the hierarchy and ceremonies. 3. Under the Long Parliament, many ministers were sequestered and silenced for malignancy

* Life by Williams, p. 104.

and not covenanting. 4. Many others, after the King's death, for not engaging to be true to the Commonwealth, as then established. It was no new thing, therefore, for that to be made law, which was not right; and the principle of obeying God, rather than man, had been fully illustrated and exemplified by the martyrs and confessors whose faith and piety they inherited. Where are we to look for the successors of Bradford and Latimer, of Tindal and Jewel, but among the men who were now cast out of the Church,—theologians of the same school, confessors of the same spirit, in comparison with whom, their lordly oppressors shrink into insignificance?

Our firm belief is, as already intimated, that a large proportion of the evangelical clergy of the present day, would, had they been living in those times, have taken part with Baxter, and Henry, and Howe, and have endured with them 'the reproach of Christ;' and that, under circumstances parallel to theirs, they would have courage to act in the same way now. We say this without any sinister intention, meaning, in fact, to do them honour. But we are not sure that they are entitled to the compliment exclusively. Among the clergy generally, we are inclined to think, there exists quite as little disposition to bow to ecclesiastical authority, when it fairly crosses, we will not say their conscience, but their sense of right or liking, as in the days of Charles the Second. The Thirty-nine Articles are subscribed to without hesitation; but the same unhesitating acquiescence would not be manifested in subscribing to a *fortieth* article. The good pleasure of Archbishop Sheldon and Lord Clarendon is submissively bowed to; but that of Archbishop Howley and Lord Lyndhurst, if exerted in a similar manner, would not be regarded with equal veneration. There is far from being any readiness in the clergy of our own times, to defer very much to episcopal authority. On the contrary, instances of open insubordination have come to our knowledge, which the power of the bishop has proved inadequate to deal with. It has occurred to us, also, to hear the bishops spoken of by clergymen of the Established Church with a freedom, to say the least, which would have been set down, in a dissenter, to a hatred of episcopacy.

It is admitted, we believe, on all hands, that the episcopal order in the English Church, has at no time been composed of prelates more estimable for their personal character and general demeanour, than at this moment. One would imagine, therefore, that this would be the time at which a revision of the Liturgy and Articles, and terms of conformity, could be with the greatest safety entrusted to the rulers of the Church. But one prominent objection, constantly urged by the more pious clergy, against such revision, is founded upon the distrust they enter-

tain of the orthodoxy, piety, or discretion of those persons in authority in the Church, who would have the determination of the matter. The morbid dread of innovation, and the less indefinite fear of having things altered for the worse, overpower the wish for amendment or relief in what is felt to be objectionable. They are aware that an authority *might* be called into exercise, to which they could not submit; an authority which they venerate precisely because it is dormant. They conform to the Church as it was settled about two hundred years ago, professedly because they approve of all that was then ordained. But, if new articles or terms of conformity were now to be imposed, of which they *disapproved*, would an act of parliament ensure their peaceful and submissive acquiescence? We think not.

Now surely a man gives no proof of his submission to authority, by complying with its requisitions when they fall in with his own predilections and opinions. If I think that all which the Church teaches and ordains, is scriptural and right, my conformity is but acting according to my own private judgement and inclination. The touchstone is, when this same authority requires me to conform to what I deem unscriptural and wrong. The conformist and the nonconformist may, while entertaining opposite views of what the Church requires, be acting upon the same principles; the authority of the Church being, in fact, deferred to by neither. The merit of conformity must lie in the surrender of private judgement at the bidding of ecclesiastical authority. But those who are entirely satisfied with every thing to which they subscribe and conform, are to be congratulated for their good fortune, rather than commended for their obedience.

'If,' says Mr. Hurn, 'we should suppose that the devisers of these terms (of conformity) were upright men, we must also infer, that they considered the book of common prayer to be without fault. And there may be persons now, who entertain the same sentiments respecting it, and who consider the whole to be in perfect agreement with the Holy Scriptures For certainly, that book to which ministers of Christ promise to conform, and also declare that they give their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing in it, ought not to have any thing that is wrong.' p. 12.

On the other hand, 'it has been usual,' our Author subsequently remarks, 'with considerate and sensible men, in apologizing for defects in the Liturgy, to remind us, that we are not to look for perfection in works that are merely human and uninspired, but should expect to meet with traces of human infirmity.'

'The truth of this observation,' proceeds Mr. H., 'is readily granted,

but it forms a strong and unanswerable argument against the terms of ministerial conformity. For, if there really be defects in the book of common prayer, why should the ministers of truth be compelled to speak of it as if it had none? The devisers of these terms have made no allowance for human infirmity, nor manifested the least compassionate regard for the consciences of others, but have framed their various exactions with a forethought that points every way, and with a rigour so extreme as to leave no room for evasion, either on this or any other ground whatever." pp. 93, 94.

What those defects are, upon which Mr. Hurn insists as most loudly calling for amendment, it is not necessary for us to enumerate. We prefer that those of our readers who wish to know the nature and extent of our Author's objections, should learn them from his own language. Some of them, when urged by Dissenters, have been thought frivolous or captious. And in the dispute respecting these specific points, the real nature of the terms of ministerial conformity have been lost sight of. This is another reason, we think, why secessions from the Church have not more frequently occurred. The subject of decision has been so broken up into parts, and frittered down to a matter of verbal criticism, that it has been impossible to see the way clear to the main and original question. It should be recollected, that the objections felt by the Nonconformists against the Liturgy, were by no means the considerations which weighed with them most imperatively. The necessity of submitting to re-ordination, it has already been remarked, was what chiefly determined Philip Henry; and in this he was not singular. He was *dissatisfied* about many other things which he was called upon to assent to and approve; but, 'loath to go off his station,' he was in doubt what to do, till this insuperable difficulty presented itself in all its force; and he 'thought it a mercy, since it must be so, that the case of nonconformity was made so clear as it was, abundantly to satisfy him in his silence and sufferings.'* This great stumbling-block does not, of course, lie in the way of those who have been ordained by a bishop. Yet, without some definite objection, so strong and insuperable as to become a *turning-point*, the minor causes of uneasiness, how numerous soever, are not likely to prevail by their aggregate force.

* One thing which he comforted himself with in his non-conformity, was, that as to matters of *doubtful disputation* touching church government, ceremonies, and the like, he was *unsworn*, either on one side or the other, and so was free from those snares and bands in which so many find themselves tied up from what they would do, and entangled that they knew not what to do. He was one of those that *feared an oath*. Life of P. Henry, by Williams, p. 100.

We confess that we do not see how any clergymen can consistently petition for a revision of the Liturgy, or for any alteration in the formularies or canons to which their implicit approbation is unhappily pledged. Nor could we, under existing circumstances, anticipate any satisfactory result from such revision. After endless wrangling and party contention, the whole business would probably terminate in some compromise and a few insignificant alterations, that would afford no substantial relief. Let us see what Mr. Riland wishes to have altered. In the first place, he is 'confounded,' that any lessons from the Apocrypha should be retained in the Calendar, and that 'such 'impure trash as, for example, the sixth and seventh chapters 'of Tobit, should be tolerated in any branch of the Christian 'Church.' He does not seem to be aware, that Bel and the Dragon was first inserted by the Bishops in the last revision, in direct opposition to the Presbyterians. We should really hope, however, that the Apocryphal lessons would now be given up, and, possibly, the first three chapters of the Apocalypse be admitted in their place. Mr. Riland next attacks the three Creeds; the Apostles' Creed, because its title is spurious, and its contents, 'an indefinite, deficient, and ill-assorted compend of 'the Gospel'; the Nicene, because it equally 'separates the 'forgiveness of sins from the only source of pardon'; and the Athanasian, because it is 'a dry, abstract, unapplied series of 'positions about the Trinity',—and he thinks it 'high time that 'something should be done to close for ever this hitherto inex- 'haustible source of evil to the Church of Christ.' Proceeding to examine the Liturgy, he remarks, that a 'most oppressive 'weight of objection might be effectually and easily removed by 'compliance with three principles of reform.'

'In the first place, let the ritual be cleansed from every expression even tending to irritate another party; from personalities of whatever dimensions. On this point, the services for the fifth of November, thirtieth of January, and twenty-ninth of May, furnish revolting examples, and such as need not be particularized. They are an illegitimate scion of the Liturgy, and have long since lapsed into desuetude; or, if used, have been read by all men of reflection with feelings of disgust, grief, and shame.

'On this subject, and on a collateral cause of humiliation, I cordially concur in the following remarks:—"When, at the Restoration, the two forms of public devotion for the martyrdom of Charles the First, and for the return of the Second Charles, were drawn up by the then hierarchy, a truly humiliating difference was discernible between the ancient Liturgy, as generally compiled by the Reformers, and these two appendages. When the Jews saw the second temple, they wept!

"The offices in question were, in fact, drawn up by Sancroft; a prelate whose character these performances teach us to appreciate.

For some time, his productions were laid aside as improper; and other forms, constructed with sobriety and moderation, proposed to be adopted. But on Sancroft's succession to the primacy, he revived the energy of *Ego et Rex meus*, and contrived to introduce his own performances under the royal authority. They were accordingly inserted in the Prayer-book, as we now find them.

“After the Savoy Conference, as Burnet relates, ‘a collect was also drawn up for the Parliament, in which a new epithet was added to the king's title, that gave great offence, and occasioned much indecent railery: he was styled *our most religious king*. It was not easy to give a proper sense to this, and to make it go well down; since, whatever the signification of *religious* might be in the *Latin* word, as importing the sacredness of the king's person, yet, in the *English* language, it bore a signification that was in no way applicable to the king. And those who took great liberties with him, have often asked him, What must all his people think, when they heard him prayed for as their most religious king?’

“Would Cranmer, and Ridley, and Jewell, all high prerogative men, as is evident from the Homilies on Rebellion, have created a world of causeless dislike and irritation for the sake of a single epithet; which even the good sense and easy nature of Charles the Second would first have laughed at, and then have discarded from the Liturgy?

“But while the religious sensibility of that monarch's prelates was sufficiently stagnant, they were wide awake, and all in motion, when the debates of the times touched the prerogative. Their error was so far excusable, as being, in the usual course of human things, the effervescence of minds fresh with the feelings of injury, and intoxicated with a recent and finished victory.” p. 172—175.

The other principles of reform specified by Mr. Riland, are, that ‘the doctrinal system of the ritual should be symmetrized,’ and that all religious compliments should be entirely rescinded. He then goes on to urge ‘the necessity of severing from our ‘folio Prayer book, that ambiguous body of ecclesiastical law, ‘drawn up, under the name of Canons, at the end of the ‘seventeenth century, and which furnishes an unhappy example of the accuracy with which the Anglican Protestants of ‘that day copied the style and spirit—the *si quis dixerit* and ‘the *anathema sit*—of the Roman Catholic Church.’ Lastly, he examines the Thirty-nine Articles *seriatim*, from which he would reject the third, the eighth, the sixteenth, the twentieth, the twenty-second, the thirty-sixth, and the thirty-eighth, as wholly superfluous or objectionable. The sixth, he would place first; and for the first, second, and fifth, he would substitute such clauses of the Creeds as exclusively illustrate the doctrines of the Trinity.

‘What do we gain by the party spirit of the Preface to the Liturgy; the ill selection of Proper Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels; the reten-

tion of legendary names and allusions in the Calendar; the lection of the Apocrypha, and the omission of the Apocalypse; the mention of feasts and fasts never observed; the repetitions of the Pater noster, Kyrie eleison, and Gloria Patri; the wearisome length of the services; the redundance and assumptions in the state prayers; the unsatisfactoriness of the three Creeds; the disputable character of the Baptismal and Burial offices; the incompleteness, and dubious construction, of the Catechism, and of the Order of Confirmation; the inapplicable nature, and absolution, of the Visitation of the Sick; the imperfection of the Communion Service; the discordance between the Prayer-book and Bible translations of the Psalms; the contumelious and offensive language of the state services; and, added to all these sources of weakness, similar causes of inefficiency in the Articles and Homilies?

'The universal feeling of self-preservation might dictate the necessity of reviewing these many points of insecurity; as a measure, at least, of prudence, and of prospective advantage. I would repeat a position already advanced,—that no Reformed church has a moral right to insist upon terms of communion not recognized by the general assent of Protestants united in the fundamentals of Christianity. It is a disruption of the common bonds of the church of Christ.'

pp. 209, 210.

These proposals and suggestions, it will be seen, go far beyond all that the Nonconformists thought of demanding. And does Mr. Riland dream that they will be favourably entertained by the majority of the clergy, or that there is the slightest chance of their being acceded to? It seems to us, that he has begun at the wrong end. A shorter, perhaps a more effective, at all events a more decorous way of obtaining the desired relief, on the part of clergymen pledged and sworn to implicit consent and approbation,—would be, to seek for the repeal of the cruel, unnecessary, and unrighteous oath by which they are ensnared and hampered. Till this is rescinded, with what decency could any alteration be made? Or, if made, with what decency could it be imperatively imposed on those who were pledged to the *unaltered* formularies? We term it a cruel oath, for its framers were actuated by vindictive cruelty, and it was intended to operate as an instrument of persecution;—unnecessary, for the circumstances which afforded a state plea for the enactment, no longer exist,—the Presbyterian party has long been extinct,—and Dr. Paley has taught the clergy how to regard it as a mere matter of form, which has well nigh lost its meaning;—unrighteous, because it requires what no body of men have a right to exact from the ministers of Christ. Upon this point, we must be allowed to cite a few paragraphs from Mr. Hurn's volume.

'The subject of inquiry here is, whether any officers or rulers in the Christian church have authority from Christ to impose on all ministers and congregations an exclusive form of prayer; to demand of

all who officiate in sacred things, a declaration, that they will use the prescribed form, and no other; and to enforce the use of it under the severest penalties in the power of the church to inflict; and whether such a regimen can be defended by any solid arguments, by the practice of the primitive times, and above all, by any thing taught by Christ and his apostles? It is also of great importance to inquire, whether the ministers of the gospel may lawfully, and without offending their Master in heaven, acknowledge such a power in any of their brethren, and bind themselves, so far as the prayer-book extends, to an unreserved and implicit subjection? ' pp. 155, 6.

' Let us suppose for *argument's sake*, that the liturgy is without fault, and in all points unexceptionable, such as good men would wish it to be. Can any reason be assigned why it should not in this case be established on the exclusive plan? Yes; several of the main objections continue in full force. What scriptural authority is there for a discipline of this nature? Why must all other prayers equally proper and scriptural be set aside and withheld from the church? Is it not presumption in men, to fix their boundaries where God, for wise and gracious purposes, has left His people at liberty, and grants them enlargement? Why are no cases to be brought before the Lord in prayer, but those prescribed in the rubric, and which vary not; whereas the spiritual wants of a congregation are liable to perpetual variation, and to be multiplied without end? ' pp. 163, 4.

' If any plead for the use of forms, because they have need of such helps, and believe they can use them with advantage, I have no controversy with them. They plead for the same liberty with myself; and which every man has a right to claim. I have clearly a right to pray to God in that way which I believe most agreeable to His will, and most conducive to my own spiritual well-being. But should any of my brethren attempt to deprive me of this privilege, and to compel me to adopt their words, and no other, in my prayers, and, in case of my refusal, to inflict the severest punishment in their power; I am bound to protest against such claims as strongly as I am able, because they are founded in impiety and injustice, are anti-scriptural and a violation of natural rights. Whatever office they may hold in the church, this assuredly belongs not to the duties of it. After a close investigation of this subject, with long and serious attention, the result has been a full conviction, without the shadow of a doubt, that God has never delegated such a power as this to any person or persons whatever upon earth; and that the usurpation of it involves an awful responsibility to Him in that day when he shall *judge the world in righteousness by that Man whom he hath ordained*. It is a power which was never claimed by those holy men who had the first fruits of the Spirit, and were the first preachers of the gospel; but is, indeed, irreconcilable with their doctrine. It is a power which exalts itself above every power assumed and exercised by the Son of God Himself, in the government of his church, with respect to the prayers of his people. And I frankly acknowledge, that if the liturgy were without blemish, and nothing were required of me in order to my exercising my ministry in the establishment, except a strict and never-

varying conformity to the authorized prayers, I should feel obliged by my present convictions to say as before, *not upon that condition.*

'In the excursions of the mind while engaged by this subject, I have often imagined some believer in the apostolic age informing his brethren, that a period would arrive when rulers in the church would assume the right of prescribing the very words which all ministers should use in public worship, and enforce the observance of them by compulsory laws; that they would exact promises of implicit compliance, and oblige them to speak of the prescribed prayers in terms which implied their perfection; that means would be employed to continue the same words in public prayer from age to age, and to render them perpetual; and that no minister, however wise or holy, would be allowed to speak to the people from a single pulpit under their jurisdiction, unless he should first comply with their requisitions. I have likewise endeavoured to form some conception of the surprise, astonishment, and pain which such a prediction would have excited, and also the difficulty of believing that the events would ever take place. But it may be observed, that corrupt innovations creep into practice gradually; and that after they have become habitual, and gained a permanent footing, we cease to wonder at them.'

pp. 174—176.

'Whenever I give attention to the subject, my conviction is strengthened, that the word of God is deprived of that honour which He claims for it, that its free course is impeded, and that the design for which He gave it, is, in a measure, frustrated by various legislative enactments. It is true, that the clergy receive a charge to preach the word, that portions of it are read, and honourable mention made of it in the public services, and that the 6th article declares, that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed, &c." This witness is true; and it would be well for my country, if her laws required nothing inconsistent with it. But, be it remembered, that there is (if I may use a figure) another little book, containing declarations, promises, subscriptions, oaths, &c. which every clergyman is obliged to swallow, before he is permitted to teach out of the Bible, in the churches of the establishment. The avowed design of it is to pre-engage him in favour of another larger book, comprising liturgical services and forms of devotion, all of which, excepting the selections from scripture, are of human composition; and it appears to me, that this latter book, under the sanction of human authority, does therefore take precedence of the Bible itself. Here the limits of his faith are drawn; and here his spiritual researches are circumscribed. And if we include the *unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing* in the book, his mind is so entirely prepossessed as to disable him from receiving the Bible in its full authority and appropriate influence. To me it is evident, that a clergyman, who understands and acts consistently with his pre-engagements, will not feel at liberty to make the scripture his only rule; those engagements being an effectual bar to all new discoveries in the oracles of God, and a check on his attempts to make further

progress in divine knowledge; and because as soon as he shall learn any thing from them that varies in the least from any part of the common prayer-book, he has an inward testimony that he breaks the conditions on which he is authorized to teach, and forfeits his right to continue in his present situation. Hence he is discouraged in the study of the holy scriptures, manacled in his exertions to be useful, and wretched in his mind. He has indeed been accessory to his own wretchedness, and may be charged with rashness and indiscretion. But it is also true, that he has been tempted, and that requisitions have been made of him, that are severe, unnecessary, and indefensible.'

pp. 215—217.

Upon these impressive statements, the language of experience and fervent piety, we offer no comment. The point to which our remarks and citations are designed to lead, is this; that nothing is to be expected, nothing *can* be done for the relief of the conscientious, or the reformation of the Church, till this oppressive test-act ecclesiastical is repealed, which binds up the rulers of the Church equally with its humblest ministers. If the Church be perfect, the terms of admission are not the less unjustifiable on principle; and the history of their enactment affords, as Mr. Hurn justly remarks, 'an affecting instance of human depravity in persons consecrated to so sacred an office.' Let this preliminary obstacle be removed, and then every desirable amendment might peaceably, and with comparatively little difficulty, be effected by the gradual operation of unshackled good sense and pious feeling. Till this be done, all discussions will tend only to inflame and irritate. To this one object, then, let all the ministers of the Establishment who fear an oath, direct their united efforts; the obtaining of the legislative repeal of the tests and oaths, which never yet kept a wicked man out of the Church, and which the spirit of the age and the spirit of Christianity alike condemn as mere snares and fetters of the conscience. If they viewed the subject in what we cannot but deem its true light, they would see that this is the only proper course to be taken; that, as they value their own peace of mind or moral freedom, the interests of religion, or the true honour and stability of their Church, they are bound to make every effort to obtain this *Protestant emancipation*. And were they so to do, we cannot doubt of their eventual success.

'But would the Dissenters be satisfied?' For them, as a body, (certainly not a body actuated by one spirit,) we have no authority to answer; but we venture to say, that they would not be satisfied. Moreover, we will make bold to express our opinion, that they ought, in this matter, to be put out of sight altogether. Speaking for them, we should say: 'We have been relieved, and we are grateful for that relief; but we cannot,

under any circumstances, promise conformity. We have certain views and opinions about the election of pastors, the validity of Presbyterian ordination, the right to teach independently of State appointment, the constitution of churches, the alliance of Church and State, and other matters, which would effectually preclude that entire coalescence and amalgamation which some might hope for, and others deprecate, as the probable result of a Church reform. If we desire that reform, it is assuredly not for our own sakes. We should lose by it, at least a fertile topic of invective, which no controvertist is willing to part with; and our nonconformity would only be rendered apparently the less reasonable.'

We are not, indeed, ignorant, that there is a class of Dissenters, with whom our own consistency and integrity will be placed in jeopardy by our advocating any measure of Church Reform. They cannot conceive, good men! how a Dissenter can, from any good motives, wish the Establishment to be a whit purer than it is; and to desire an alteration in the terms of conformity, must of necessity indicate, with them, secret treason against the sacred cause of Dissent. Alas! for that cause which would be endangered by the removal of abuses and evils which its votaries affect to lament! Alas! for those whose self-complacency rests upon the inconsistencies of their neighbours! We should indeed begin to suspect the character of our own principles, nay, we would renounce them, could they be fairly shewn to be chargeable with any such consequence. Our attachment to those principles ought not, however, to be called in question, when we declare, that it has never been lessened even by the deep mortification of holding them in common with persons whose good opinion we are by no means anxious to enjoy,—Dissenters who have much clearer views on the subject of church-government, than they have respecting the weightier matters of the law; who love Dissent for its own sake, and whose narrow-minded and vulgar-minded zeal would convert every religious difference into a personal quarrel. To do such parties justice, however, their bark is generally worse than their bite; their ferocity evaporates in railing; and their philanthropy, though a little unmannerly, is much wider than their charity*.

* Although we feel it to be a little *infra dig.* to advert to newspaper attacks, we are tempted to take this opportunity of undeceiving those of our readers who have been led to attribute an article in our Number for December last (Acaster's Church in Danger), to the pen of the Author of Protestant Nonconformity, and to found upon that mistake, personal imputations and reports of a most romantic character. The

We have left ourselves no room to notice Mr. Scales's little volume, a slight glance at which would shew the wide distance between any principles of Church reform and the 'principles of Dissent.' As a work designed principally for the members of Congregational Churches, it will sufficiently answer the purposes intended, of putting the reader in possession of much important historical information and polemical material. In common, however, with most works upon the same subject, it is chargeable with this deficiency; that it is more argumentative than practical, more logical than persuasive, more explicit in denouncing error, than happy in illustrating and recommending the truth. Dissent is made to appear, in such discussions, too much of an intangible negation,—a string of principles which form but the skeleton of a well-clothed and vital system. Dissent and Nonconformity are, indeed, most unhappy names by which to characterize any system that has a substantial foundation. It is not from such works that Dissenters will learn their religious duties to their pastors, their families, or to the Church at large. We do not mean these remarks to apply to Mr. Scales's work in particular; but, as he refers his 'juvenile readers' to Pierce, and Towgood, and Graham *, and other controversial works, we must be allowed to express our belief, that whatever satisfaction such works may afford to Dissenters by their argumentative ability, they will be found wholly inefficient as the means of extending and recommending their opinions, or of retaining persons within their communion. They answered an important purpose at the time of their publication: they are neither adapted to the present times, nor will the interests of piety be advanced by their circulation.

article was spontaneously furnished by a writer of no mean celebrity, who is well able to justify the ground he has taken. The Editor must be allowed to add, that while he shrinks from no responsibility connected with the insertion of any article that appears in this Journal, he conceives that a certain latitude and discretion must be allowed to his several contributors in the expression of their views, even although they may not always be in the most perfect unison with his own. He has no wish to disclaim, however, an entire agreement with the sentiments avowed in the article in question.

* Mr. Conder's work on "Protestant Nonconformity", avowedly written with the ambitious hope of superseding these works, and of redeeming the subject 'from the disadvantages of controversy', ought not to have been classed with them.

- Art. IV. 1. *The Dominie's Legacy*. By the Author of the 'The Sectarian'. 3 vols. sm. 8vo. pp. 805. Price 24s. London. 1830.
2. *The Game of Life*. By Leitch Ritchie. 2 vols. sm. 8vo. pp. 528. London. 1830.
3. *Fitz of Fitzford*; a Legend of Devon. By Mrs. Bray. 3 vols. sm. 8vo. pp. 831. Price 27s. London. 1830.
4. *Tales of Field and Flood*; with Sketches of Life at Home. By John Malcolm. f. cap. 8vo. pp. 329. Price 7s. 6d. Edinburgh. 1829.

WE have been again supplied with sundry samples of light literature, and we must sweep them from our table as cursorily, yet as courteously, as we may. Not even for 'The Dominie's Legacy', although accompanied by a note from the Author, *anent* our review of his 'Sectarian', can we trespass on the very brief limits disposable for matters of this kind. We are happy in an opportunity of acknowledging the courtesy and excellent temper in which Mr. Picken—we believe the name is avowed—has adverted to our criticisms on his former work; and our pleasure is increased by the absence, with slight exception, of all offensive peculiarity in the three volumes which stand first upon our list.

'The Dominie's Legacy', is the title of a collection of tales, some of pleasant, others of painful character, but nearly all of unusual interest. They exhibit a familiar acquaintance with human life, and a shrewd intimacy with those lines and shades of human temperament which are not altogether obvious to superficial inspection. The Author is dexterous in mental and moral dissection, and he avails himself of this talent with much effect on various occasions. He is rarely extravagant, but displays uncommon skill in selecting the minor incidents, the daily realities of life, the little circumstances of character and casualty, and investing them with a strong attraction. 'Mary Ogilvie' is the simplest of all possible stories, and founded on the least complicated of plots; the loves of a Scotch girl and a youth of superior station, broken off by his removal to distant scenes, in the progress of a complete education; and, on his return, just as she is on the eve of marriage with a respectable young farmer of her own rank, revived in strong feeling and mutual confession. Their renewed attachment does not, however, alter the state of matters; she marries the man of her father's choice, and of her own esteem, though her affections remain true to the object of her earliest love. He is present at the marriage; and the conflict of his feelings is described with skilful anatomy, throughout a series of minute circumstances connected with the peculiarities of a Scotch wedding. He

afterwards marries a lady of wealth, beauty, and high breeding; but Mary Ogilvie is not forgotten, and amid the heartless dissipation of what is called elegant life, his torpid affections are often awakened by the reminiscences of his boyish love. These are still more strongly roused by a visit from Mary's father, for the purpose of communicating the intelligence of her husband's death, by a fall from his horse; and when, shortly afterwards, he himself becomes a widower, the old attachment regains its full strength. A proper season having elapsed, he returns from his wanderings amid foreign scenes, seeks out Mary Ogilvie, and makes her his wife. Nothing can be more inartificial than all this; and we hardly know why we have given the outline of so simple a tale, when its charm is exclusively derived from the filling up. We do not usually deal in extracts from works of fiction, but we must venture on part of the interview between the lover and his Mary, on her wedding-day.

“ Mary Ogilvie”, I at length said, “ I cannot now tell you all the reasons; but, believe me, my heart was not in them, Mary. I denied myself much, in not seeing you, at least to talk of former happier days: but I learned that you were about to be married to a young man, of whom your father approved; and I knew not but that you might have forgotten me and our early love. And you know, Mary,” I continued, taking both her hands again, and looking into her eyes, “ we have other things to do in life, than idling about these bonnie woods, picking primroses and reading love tales; for the scenes of early youth are but like a dream, and pass quickly away, and the feelings may be very different in after years. But *my* heart, assuredly, was not in fault, Mary; I have not forgotten these days, nor this pretty bank, nor your lovely blue eyes and golden locks, nor the day when we wandered to the Craigs of Glenvee—nor—you are in tears, Mary; I did not mean to pain you.”

“ Oh, George!” said she, while the tears fell fast from her swimming eyes, “ how can you speak so to me now, and not a word until my very wedding-day! and yet, I know you do not mean to pain me; I know your warm heart, but you'll be designed for some grand lady, and I never should have thought about the like of you.”

“ As I was about to reply, she took her hand from mine, and, holding it up before my mouth, exclaimed, “ Now, dinna speak nae mair to me, George! dinna talk to me of bygone days. I canna bear it the day, for I am but a weak woman, and I am gaun to be married to a youth of my ain station; but yet—now dinna speak!”

“ One word more, Mary,” I said completely overpowered, “ and then forget——”

“ I canna forget! No, I winna forget!” she exclaimed, with a look of despair, “ Farewell, George!” and she tried to get away.

“ Will you leave me that way, Mary?” I said, almost calmly: “ it is our last meeting, as remembered lovers, the very last in this wood.” I drew her to me; she fell into my arms; our tears mingled; she broke from me after a sob or two, staggered with agitation as she glided off

round the foot of the green mound, leaving me like one in the midst of a dream.' Vol. ii. pp. 42—44.

'George Wishart' is a powerfully written tale: we recollect few exhibitions of the dreadful, more intensely wrought up, than the scene in which the crazed Fanny More appears, as an 'avenging minister', to the murderers of her husband. The description of the trephine operation is, however, in bad taste; no talent is required in the mere details of torturing surgery; they excite nervous apprehensions, and their effect is merely that of vulgar horror. Mr. Picken should correct a little tendency to the coarse, of which he seems perfectly aware, and content himself with those legitimate means of producing strong impression, which he so well knows how to employ. The other stories are of various, but, for the most part, considerable merit.

The 'Game of Life', is a romping, riotous, sort of a sketch, but full of talent, both comic and of a better kind. Had we not too frequently found occasion to observe, that a spirited extravaganza is not always the prelude to success in more effective composition, we should augur highly of the Writer's future progress. He writes well, but we suspect that he is not patient in revision. His humour is genuine, but too apt to run a tilt, and to expatiate among the vulgarities of life. His descriptions are sometimes excellent, and he excels in contrast. Of this last kind, there is a pair of scenes admirably drawn;—the misery of an amiable and clever man, earning a miserable and precarious sustenance for himself, a young wife, and an increasing family, by drudging as a copying-clerk among the lawyers;—the comfort of the same individual, when his prospects are changed by the acquisition of an advantageous permanency. While he is in his low estate, the hero of the tale, Clive, calls on him, for the first time, at his lodging-house, and, commencing his inquiries on the ground-story, is directed 'higher up'. On the first-floor, he raps at the door of a genteel apartment; a young lady makes her appearance, and matters proceed as follows.

"Mr. Burnet?" she repeated, thoughtfully—"Mamma, do you know any thing of a Mr. Burnet?"

"No, my dear."

"Do you, papa?"

"No, no—nonsense. Stay, higher up, I believe—yes, higher up." The young lady shut the door: William, left again in darkness, climbed another flight, and knocked.

"Come in," cried a voice. He entered, and found, in a decent, respectable-looking apartment, two men in the garb of quakers, with their broad-brimmed hats on, reading newspapers by the fireside, with a large pewter flaggon on the table beside them. One of them, after finishing deliberately the sentence he had been perusing, turned round his head, and William repeated the question.

“ I know not, friend,” was the reply—“ higher up, perhaps, higher up ; ” and the quaker resumed his reading. The other did not so much as raise his eyes from the paper ; and William, therefore, withdrew, signifying his disapprobation of their inhospitality by shutting the door after him with less gentleness than usual. Higher up, however, our adventurer groped, and on arriving at the third floor, was happy to find it the last. Being invited, as before, to open the door for himself and walk in, he did so, and found the apartment meagerly supplied with mean furniture, among which was a tent-bed ; a young man sat by a table, on which some books and papers were scattered ; a few anatomical preparations lay about the room, and a coffee-pot beside the fire proclaimed the suitable sobriety of the student’s habits.

“ Mr. Burnet ? ” said he, “ I don’t know, indeed—you had better inquire further.”

“ I am much obliged to you,” replied William, hastily, who was now out of all patience ; “ but I would rather be excused just now from scrambling upon the slates, unless you, in the first place, will shew me the way.” The student smiled.

“ There is no need,” said he ; “ there is a family next door, I believe ; and if ‘ one Burnet ’ does not hang out there, why I would recommend you just to descend quietly by the stairs as you came ; ” and, so saying, the young man resumed his studies.

William accordingly tried the next door, and, at length, found his friend. pp. 75—77.

When things are changed, Clive, after some slight interval of time, again calls upon his friend, and ignorant of the favourable turn in Fortune’s wheel, ascends to the well-known garret. A new family has taken possession, and he is referred to the next door, where he finds the medical student ‘ still at his books and ‘ coffee ’. ‘ Lower down ’, is the answer to his inquiries ; and he descends to the next floor, where sit, apparently on the *eternumque sedebit* principle, the two quakers with their unceasing newspaper and their sempiternal porter-pot—‘ I know not, friend,’ is the reply ; ‘ lower down, perhaps, lower down ’. And ‘ lower down ’ he finds the object of his search, in the best apartment, now deserted by its former tenants, well-dressed and well-looking, surrounded with his happy family. We cannot spare room for the plot of the piece, which is, in truth, slender and not remarkable for probability ; and we must take a somewhat abrupt leave of Mr. Ritchie, with the expression of a hope that we may meet with him again, and on less questionable ground.

We are sorry to be, even in appearance, negligent towards a lady, but we cannot afford to Fitz of Fitzford, either an extract or a sketch of his story. It is a tale of the olden days and antique manners ; of mysteries and May-games ; of astrology, and disastrous love, and treacherous machinations ; of dungeons, escapes, fierce duel, and self-murder. So far as we

are acquainted with the Writer's works, we are inclined to prefer this, as the most vigorously conceived and composed. It is considerably above the average of its class, and will, we doubt not, become popular among readers who, unlike ourselves, are fond of fictitious misery. We have been too long and too deeply conversant with the real ills of life, to find any gratification in the mockery of woe; and when, which is not often the case, we take up a volume of such light literature, we prefer the cheerful to the gloomy. It requires a powerful mastery over the mind, to make it in love with wretchedness. It is a task beyond the skill of common abilities, to give an enchaining interest to a melancholy narrative, and we recollect but few instances of eminent success. The *Bride of Lammermuir* is the most striking that occurs to us at the present moment; and there, the victory over the feelings is so complete, the pathos so pervading, and the horrible catastrophe so entirely in keeping with the deep tragic tone of all the scenes in which the principal characters are concerned, that we should resent it as the imposition of an impossible event upon our credulity, were the termination other than calamitous. Still, *Fitz of Fitzford* is a clever book; and our objections are more those of temperament, than of criticism.

Mr. Malcolm's *Tales and Sketches* are somewhat unsubstantial, but very pleasant reading. There is enough of variety to satisfy any reasonable appetite, and enough of spirit and interest to silence all unreasonable criticism. The descriptive portions are skilfully worked up, and a piquant mixture of the humorous and the pathetic, seasons the little narratives of which the volume mainly consists. We shall give one brief extract, the portrait of General Picton, our 'bravest of the brave'; our Ney, without the vacillations of that unfortunate officer; Wellington's 'right hand'.

'I was much struck with his appearance; his countenance was very swarthy, and had an intensity of expression which I shall never forget. He stood in a lounging attitude on the field where we reposed, and surveyed the troops with a look of grim delight. His dark visage brightening beneath a smile, resembled a sun-touched thunder-cloud, with whose terrific attributes my imagination invested this presiding genius of battle.' pp. 24, 25.

Judging from the volume before us, we should have no doubt of Mr. Malcolm's success in a more sustained and vigorous effort.

- Art. V. 1. *The Modern Martyr.* By the Author of 'The Evangelical Rambler.' Two Volumes, small 8vo. pp. 635. Price 10s. London. 1829.
2. *Visits to 'The Religious World.'* 8vo. pp. 523. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1829.
3. *The Christian Physiologist.* Tales illustrative of the Five Senses, their Mechanism, Uses, and Government, with moral and explanatory Introductions. By the Author of 'The Collegians.' 8vo. pp. 402. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1830.

THE first of these works presents a well-imagined, and, on the whole, well executed fiction; if, indeed, that may be called fiction, which is but the illustration of a principle extensively in operation at all times, and probably never to become wholly extinct, until the final day. The spirit of persecution is a pervading, perhaps, an inseparable element of human nature: nor, although it is most deep and malignant in its connexion with religion, does it confine its influences to that savage propensity which pride, and avarice, and ambition have taken licence to indulge, under the strangely misapplied title of religious zeal. It has usurped the mastery of the domestic affections, masked itself under the loveliest lineaments, and withered with its poisons the felicities of home. This, however, is a form and aspect of its malignity which it requires the shrewdest observation to detect, and consummate dexterity to anatomize. Against the fiercest assault from without, it may be possible to summon up a resolved mood and a firm endurance; the 'world's dread laugh' may be held as nought in the comparison with duty and high principle; pain and the last extremity may be calmly contemplated, and triumphantly encountered;—but the persecutions of family and friends are hardly to be borne. The urgency, not of one hour or one day, but of every day and every hour; the constant pressure on the animal spirits; the unceasing appeal to the strongest and purest of our social attachments; the searching eye, the pleading tongue;—all this powerful enginry bearing upon one point, aided by human weaknesses and the dark solicitations of our spiritual enemies, make up a system of exhausting hostility, against which to stand requires all vigilance and all grace. To exhibit such a state of things by way of warning and example; to construct, on a plan which should necessarily combine both epic and dramatic forms, a story founded on an accurate analysis, moral and metaphysical, of the feelings, impulses, depravities, and spiritual invigoration which are engaged in this deep and stubborn strife;—to effect this in a way at all approaching to completeness, demands a rare combination of talent, experience, and powers of expression. If, in

the execution of this difficult task, we cannot say that the Author of these volumes has been entirely successful, we hazard nothing in recommending his work as able and valuable. He has, with no inconsiderate boldness, taken up a difficult, but important subject; and he has displayed much skill, both in his outline and his details. Some of his scenes are admirably touched, and his appeals to the feelings are both forcible and judiciously managed. When employing the pathetic, he never becomes either mawkish or extravagant; and although he frequently succeeds in wakening strong emotion, it is never at the expense of probability or decorum. The faults are slight and circumstantial; a little stiffness in the dialogue, and some want of tact in the attempts at humour. Miss Frip and Miss Grig add nothing to the general effect. The story is, in brief, as follows.

An amiable and accomplished female, the daughter of a prosperous bookseller, is forcibly struck with an observation incidentally made by her father in the course of his business, and is led to profitable reading and serious reflection. Her parents and her sisters are worthy people, but hostile to every manifestation of religious character beyond a decent attendance at the parish church. Charlotte Lester becomes, to the great mortification of her family, decidedly pious; and, when one of her sisters is on the very verge of the grave, makes a strong and successful appeal to her conscience. Her father, too, when dangerously ill, is so struck with his daughter's expostulations, as to make admirable, but evanescent resolutions of a holy and devoted life. Various characters are introduced, amid much variety of scenery; but ultimately, the 'martyr' is sent from her home, and recalled, only to die.

Of the 'Visits to the religious World,' we find some difficulty in speaking decidedly. The book is written in an excellent spirit, with considerable ability, and in successful exposure of much that is infirm and injurious in the present state of religious society. The characteristics and the mischievous effects of hollow, unwise, uncharitable, and exaggerated profession, are forcibly portrayed; and although we cannot exactly coincide with some of the views and recommendations of the Author, our objections are not to his feelings, nor, substantially, to his opinions, but mainly to some of his expressions, which are somewhat at variance with the way in which we might find it right to state the same truths. We cannot help thinking, that he has put himself, unnecessarily, and to his disadvantage, into the trammels of circumstance and dialogue: the former are not uninteresting in themselves, nor are they stated without good discrimination and effect; but the latter is heavy, protracted beyond all reasonable limits of interlocution; and thus, that instruction which is in itself valuable and forcible, becomes in-

effective from its inappropriate vehicle. In the form of essays, the work would, we think, have had a fairer chance for usefulness. As it is, the volume is well worth a serious perusal.

The 'Christian Physiologist', is a work of considerable merit. Under the heads of Sight, Hearing, Feeling, Smell, Taste, Intellect, the various organs of sense are physiologically defined, while their uses and regulation are unfolded and enforced. These scientific and moral explanations are each followed up by an appropriate and illustrative tale; and the system is completed by an allegorical exhibition of the mutual action and re-action of the senses and the soul. The book is well written, and might have had a fair prospect of popularity as an educational guide, but for the prohibitory price attached to the volume.

Art. VI. *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Private Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, late President of the United States. Now first published from the Original Manuscripts. Edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph. Vols. III. and IV. pp. 1074. London. 1829.

THE former volumes of these *Memoirs* were noticed in our Number for January last; and we have little to add to the remarks which were then made upon the character of the work, or of the distinguished individual whose papers are here laid before us. In America, we understand, the publication has excited an uncommon degree of interest, which is not very surprising, as the letters and papers throw considerable light upon the secret history of the first years of the Federal Republic; and the Writer was the political idol of his party. A very large proportion of the Correspondence, however, will be scarcely intelligible to the mass of readers in this country, without a commentary or notes; and there is a great deal of trivial detail relating to matters of private business, which can interest no living being. Why some of the letters are printed, unless it be to eke out the work, it is impossible to divine. Selections from the Correspondence, would have formed a publication of real value and high interest; but every letter and document of importance might have been comprised in a single octavo volume.

A few of the early letters in the third volume, are dated from Paris, in the eventful months of July, August, and September, 1789; but, as Mr. Jefferson left France for America in October, they are more occupied with his speculations as to coming events, than with the narration of what took place. There is an account, in one letter, of the destruction of the Bastile, but apparently only from report; and the difficulty which the

Writer found in ascertaining the real facts, though living in the very focus of these transactions, may serve to illustrate the uncertainties of history.

'I went yesterday to Versailles', writes Mr. J., 'to satisfy myself what had passed there; for nothing can be believed but what one sees, or has from an eye-witness. They believe there still, that three thousand people have fallen victims to the tumults of Paris. Mr. Short and myself have been every day among them, in order to be sure of what was passing. We cannot find, with certainty, that any body has been killed but the three before mentioned (De Launai, the Governor of the Bastile, the Lieut.-Governor, and M. de Flesselles, *Prevôt des Marchands*). How many of the garrison were killed, nobody pretends to have ever heard. Of the assailants, accounts vary from six to six hundred. The most general belief is, that there fell about thirty. There have been many reports of instantaneous executions by the mob, on such of their body as they caught in acts of theft or robbery. Some of these may perhaps be true. There was a severity of honesty observed, of which no example was known. Bags of money, offered on various occasions through fear or guilt, have been uniformly refused by the mobs. The churches are now occupied in singing '*De profundis*' and '*Requiems*' for the repose of the souls of the brave and valiant citizens who have sealed with their blood the liberty of the nation.'

Vol. III. pp. 7, 8.

The coolness and driness of the Writer's style of narrating these events, are far more striking than the accuracy of either his information or his calculations. In another letter to John Jay, dated August 12, Mr. Jefferson writes:

'The city is as yet not entirely quieted. Every now and then, summary execution is done on individuals, by individuals, and nobody is in condition to ask for what, or by whom. We look forward to the completion of the establishment of the city militia, as that which is to restore protection to the inhabitants. The details from the country are as distressing as I had apprehended they would be. Most of them are doubtless false, but many must still be true. Abundance of *châteaux* are certainly burnt and burning, and not a few lives sacrificed. The worst is probably over in this city; but I do not know whether it is so in the country.' pp. 16, 17.

In September, writing to the same individual, Mr. J. informs his Correspondent, that the National Assembly were proceeding but slowly in forming the Constitution, owing to 'the original vice of their numbers, as well as a tumultuous way of doing business'; and this 'sloth, unavoidable from their number', was operating most injuriously to the public cause. 'The Assembly now consists', he adds, 'of four distinct parties. 1. The aristocrats, comprehending the higher members of the clergy, military, nobility, and the parliaments of the whole kingdom. This forms a head without a body.' What is meant by this

strange assertion, it is difficult to say. In this country, we should consider the aristocracy as a pretty substantial body, but certainly not as a head. The other parties were: '2. The moderate royalists, who wish for a constitution nearly similar to that of England. 3. The republicans, who are willing to let their first magistracy be hereditary, but to make it very subordinate to the legislature, and to have that legislature consist of a single chamber. 4. The faction of Orleans.' This last faction is characterized as composed of only the Catilines of the Assembly, and some of the lowest descriptions of the mob. 'Its force within the kingdom, must depend on how much of this last kind of people it can debauch with money, from its present bias to the right cause. This bias is as strong as any one can be, *in a class which must accept its bread from him who will give it.*' The continued scarcity of bread, amid a plenty of corn, which is attributed to the mismanagement of the municipality, appears to have been one powerful cause of discontent and disorder. Of the second and third classes above mentioned, Mr. Jefferson gives the following account.

'They are composed of honest, well-meaning men, differing in opinion only, but both wishing the establishment of as great a degree of liberty as can be preserved. They are considered together as constituting the patriotic part of the Assembly; and they are supported by the soldiery of the army, the soldiery of the clergy, that is to say, the *curés* and monks, the dissenters, and part of the nobility, which is small, and the substantial bourgeois of the whole nation. The part of these collected in the cities, have formed themselves into municipal bodies, have chosen municipal representatives, and have organized an armed corps considerably more numerous, in the whole, than the regular army. They have also the ministry, such as it is, and, as yet, the King. Were the second and third parties, or rather these sections of the same party, to separate entirely, this great mass of power and wealth would be split, nobody knows how. But I do not think they will separate; because they have the same honest views; because, each being confident of the rectitude of the other, there is no rancour between them; because they retain the desire of coalescing. In order to effect this, they not long ago proposed a conference, and desired it might be at my house, which gave me an opportunity of judging of their views. They discussed together their points of difference for six hours, and, in the course of discussion, agreed on mutual sacrifices. The effect of this agreement has been considerably defeated by the subsequent proceedings of the Assembly; but I do not know that it has been through any infidelity of the leaders to the compromise they had agreed on.' Vol. III. pp. 40, 41.

We should have been glad to know the names of these leaders who met to discuss matters at the house of the American Envoy. But no names are mentioned; and the issue, which Mr. Jeffer-

son neither was able to predict, nor remained to witness, must be learned from the page of the historian.

The moral and political lesson which might be derived from the history of the French Revolution, has never yet been fully or fairly exhibited. Much has been written about the causes of that Revolution; and its consequences and its crimes have been dwelled upon by all sorts of orators; but the false reasonings and false principles, the mistakes and impolitic measures, which, if they did not cause the explosion, determined its direction, and frustrated the efforts of the patriotic party, have never received the illustration which would render the history an instructive popular commentary upon the true principles of freedom and government. Viewed as a political experiment, its failure must be greatly attributed to the crude theories of the economists, the philosophers, and the leaders of the French people. In a letter to La Fayette, written six and twenty years after, Mr. Jefferson thus adverts to the early transactions of which he was a witness.

‘Possibly, you may remember, at the date of the *jeu de paume*, how earnestly I urged yourself and the patriots of my acquaintance, to enter then into a compact with the king, securing freedom of religion, freedom of the press, trial by jury, habeas corpus, and a national legislature, all of which it was known he would then yield; to go home, and let these work out the amelioration of the condition of the people, until they should have rendered them capable of more, when occasions would not fail to arise for communicating to them more. This was as much as I then thought them able to bear soberly and usefully for themselves. You thought otherwise, and that the dose might still be larger. And I found you were right: for subsequent events proved they were equal to the constitution of 1791. Unfortunately, some of the most honest and enlightened of our patriotic friends (but closet politicians merely, unpractised in the knowledge of man) thought more could still be obtained and borne. They did not weigh the hazards of a transition from one form of government to another, the value of what they had already rescued from those hazards, and held in security if they pleased, nor the imprudence of giving up the certainty of such a degree of liberty, under a limited monarchy, for the uncertainty of a little more, under the form of a republic. You differed from them. You were for stopping there, and for securing the constitution which the National Assembly had obtained. Here, too, you were right; and from this fatal error of the republicans, from their separation from yourself and the constitutionalists, in their councils, flowed all the subsequent sufferings and crimes of the French nation. The hazards of a second change fell upon them by the way. The foreigner gained time to anarchize by gold the government he could not overthrow by arms, to crush in their own councils the genuine republicans by the fraternal embraces of exaggerated and levied pretenders, and to turn the machine of Jacobinism from the change to the destruction of order; and in the end, the limited monarchy they had secured, was exchanged for

the unprincipled and bloody tyranny of Robespierre, and the equally unprincipled and maniac tyranny of Buonaparte. You are now rid of him, and I sincerely wish you may continue so. But this may depend on the wisdom and moderation of the restored dynasty. It is for them now to read a lesson in the fatal errors of the republicans; to be contented with a certain portion of power, secured by formal compact with the nation, rather than, grasping at more, hazard all upon uncertainty, and risk meeting the fate of their predecessor, or a renewal of their own exile.' Vol. IV. pp. 253, 4.

This letter was written in 1815. Whether the restored dynasty have as yet acquired wisdom from the errors of their predecessors, seems at this moment a little doubtful.

Mr. Jefferson, it appears from a letter to his friend Madison, carried his theory of popular rights to an extent quite original, and amusing by its cool extravagance. His first position is; that, as 'the earth belongs in usufruct to the living,' the dead have neither powers nor rights over it. No generation, therefore, he argues, can have a right to bind the succeeding one, because the dead cannot control the living. With regard, therefore, to all such obligations as a national debt, he concludes, 'that neither the representatives of a nation, nor the whole nation itself assembled, can validly engage debts beyond what they may pay in their own time; that is to say, within thirty-four years from the date of the engagement.' And this, he would place among 'the fundamental principles of every government!' It never seems to have occurred to our Philosopher, that such debts may have been contracted for the benefit of those who shall come after us,—for the benefit or security of the possession they are to inherit. And where would be the morality of accepting the benefits entailed upon us by our progenitors, without taking up the obligations and burthens attached to them? Besides, if there were any force in such reasonings, thirty-four years would be an annuity far too long to raise money upon. A generation may, on the average, last that period; but the generation is changing every year, successive generations being contemporaneous with each other, in unbroken, though ever shifting continuity. And were we to date the term of a generation from any particular transaction, the actual parties engaging in it must be supposed to have arrived at an age which would limit their rights and interests to an average term not extending to a third part of thirty-four years. Mr. Jefferson goes so far as to assert, that 'every constitution, every law, naturally expires at the end of thirty-four years'; that, 'if it be enforced longer, it is an act of force, not of right.' According to this wild and delusive theory, no individual could be rightfully bound by any law made before he was born;—although what difference his being born could make, if he were not arrived at years of

discretion, and a recognized member of the community, we cannot understand. It is an unhappy circumstance for any country, when philosophizing politicians of this order are the presiding genii of the national wisdom.

That portion of the Correspondence which extends from Mr. Jefferson's return to America, to his resignation of office as Secretary of State in Jan. 1794, is chiefly official, and, though he writes good, dry business letters, is very barren of interest. One of the most curious documents is a 'Letter from the 'President to the Emperor of Morocco', countersigned by the Secretary of State, and probably his production. It salutes his Moorish Majesty by the title of 'Great and Magnanimous Friend', and concludes with the following devout supplication.

'May that God whom we both adore, bless your Imperial Majesty with long life, health, and success, and have you always, great and magnanimous friend, under his holy keeping.

'Written at Philadelphia, the thirty-first day of March, in the fifteenth year of our sovereignty and independence, from your good and faithful friend,

'GEORGE WASHINGTON.

'By the President,

'TH. JEFFERSON.'

The following curious paragraph occurs *verbatim* in letters to Gouverneur Morris and Mr. Pinkney, the American envoys at Paris and London, dated, March 1793.

'You will perceive by the newspapers a remarkable fall in the price of our public paper. This is owing chiefly to the extraordinary demand for the produce of our country, and a temporary scarcity of cash to purchase it. The merchants holding public paper are obliged to part with it at any price, to raise money.

That a foreign demand for produce should occasion a depreciation of the paper currency, is an enigma not of easy solution.

Upon Mr. Jefferson's ceasing to hold office, the Correspondence suddenly assumes a new character; and he gives free expressions to sentiments, of which there is no previous intimation. We transcribe a few paragraphs.

'I have to thank you for the transmission of the letters from General Gates, La Motte, and Hauterive. I perceive by the latter, that the partisans of the one or the other principle (perhaps of both) have thought my name a convenient cover for declarations of their own sentiments. I think it is Montaigne who has said, that ignorance is the softest pillow on which a man can rest his head. I am sure it is true as to every thing political, and shall endeavour to estrange myself to every thing of that character. I indulge myself on one political topic only; that is, in declaring to my countrymen, the *shameless corruption of a portion of the Representatives in the first and second Con-*

gresses, and their implicit devotion to the Treasury. I think I do good in this. Vol. III. p. 307.

'The rumour of a declaration of war has given an opportunity of seeing, that the people here, though attentive to the loss of value of their produce in such an event, yet, find in it a gratification of some other passions, and particularly of their ancient hatred to Great Britain. Still, I hope it will not come to that Not that the monocrats and paper-men in Congress want war; but they want armies and debts; and though we may hope that the sound part of Congress is now so augmented as to insure a majority in cases of general interest merely, yet, I have always observed, that, in questions of expense, where members may hope either for offices or jobs for themselves or their friends, some few will be debauched, and that is sufficient to turn the decision, where a majority is, at most, but small.' pp. 308, 9.

It is amusing to find letters addressed to the President and the new Secretary of State, in which Mr. Jefferson professes that he 'cherishes tranquillity too much to suffer political 'things to enter his mind at all', and that every day and hour have but added to 'the inflexibility of his determination 'never more to engage in any thing public',—followed immediately by a letter to his friend Madison, containing a warm philippic against the faction of monocrats, for their extraordinary boldness in denouncing the democratic societies. In a subsequent letter to the same confidential correspondent, occurs the following testimony to the transcendent talent of his great rival, Hamilton.

'Hamilton is really a colossus to the anti-republican party. Without numbers, he is a host within himself. They have got themselves into a defile, where they might be finished; but too much security on the republican part will give time to his talents and indefatigableness to extricate them. We have had only middling performances to oppose to him. In truth, when he comes forward, there is nobody but yourself who can meet him.' Vol. III. p. 322.

In April 1796, our retired Politician thus writes to P. Mazzei.

'The aspect of our politics has wonderfully changed since you left us. In place of that noble love of liberty and republican government, which carried us triumphantly through the war, an Anglican monarchical and aristocratical party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance, as they have already done the forms, of the British Government. The main body of our citizens, however, remain true to their republican principles: the whole landed interest is republican, and so is a great mass of talent. Against us are the executive, the judiciary, two out of three branches of the legislature, all the officers of the Government, all who want to be officers, all timid men, who prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty, British merchants, and Americans trading on British capitals, speculators and holders in the banks and public funds, a contrivance invented for the purposes of corruption, and for assimilating us in all things to the rotten, as well as the sound parts of the British model.

It would give you a fever, were I to name to you the apostates who have gone over to these heresies, men who were Samsons in the field, and Solomons in the council, but who have had their heads shorn by the harlot England. In short, we are likely to preserve the liberty we have obtained, only by unremitting labours and perils. But we shall preserve it; and our mass of weight and wealth on the good side is so great, as to leave no danger that force will be attempted against us. We have only to awake and snap the Lilliputian cords with which they have been entangling us, during the first sleep which succeeded our labours.' Vol. III. pp. 333, 334.

This letter to Mazzei, vehement, bitter, and unguarded, appears to have been published by his Correspondent in a Florence newspaper, whence it was transcribed into the *Moniteur*, together with a paragraph which does not appear in Mr. Jefferson's copy of his own letter, and which he affirms to be an interpolation. In that 'fabricated' paragraph, he is made to charge his countrymen with ingratitude and injustice to France. Whether it was an interpolation, however, must be regarded as doubtful. It is very possible, that Mr. Jefferson might, in transcribing from his first copy, add a paragraph to his letter, which he neglected to transfer to the copy, and of which he might afterwards lose the recollection. However this was, the letter, and especially this paragraph, thus treacherously or imprudently made public, became, as he terms it, 'a precious theme for federal malice', and the subject of unceasing and virulent abuse. Nearly thirty years afterwards, we find Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Martin Van Buren, endeavouring to soften and explain away some of the most offensive expressions. It may serve to shew the incompetent manner in which this Correspondence is edited, that no reference to this subsequent explanation is attached to the original letter, nor are they in any way connected in the Index; if Index it can be called, which will not enable the reader to turn to any one topic of interest. In the translated copy, instead of the forms of the British Government, Mr. Jefferson was made to say, that the *form* of the British Government had been 'drawn over' the nation by the Anglican party. Now the forms which he meant to refer to, he tells Van Buren, were, 'the levees, birth-days, the pompous cavalcade to the State House on the meeting of Congress, the formal speech from the throne, the procession of Congress in a body to re-echo the speech in an answer, &c. &c.' General Washington, he adds, perfectly understood what he meant by these forms, as they were frequent subjects of conversation between them. He was aware, too, we are told, that the expressions relating to 'men who were Samsons in the field', &c. 'was meant for the Cincinnati generally,' and could not include the President; although it would appear

from the Writer's own statement, that French, not English influence, had the greatest weight with the members of that Society. We can scarcely suppose that Mr. Jefferson meant to include Washington among the objects of his denunciation, but his long delayed explanation is far from clear or satisfactory*.

It speaks loudly for the force of the President's character, that the federalists and the republicans were equally anxious to claim him as on their side. One of the most interesting letters in these volumes, is one addressed to Dr. Walter Jones (Vol. iv. p. 240), which contains the following character of Washington.

‘His mind was great and powerful, without being of the very first order; his penetration strong, though not so acute as that of a Newton, Bacon, or Locke; and as far as he saw, no judgement was ever sounder. It was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion. Hence the common remark of his officers, of the advantage he derived from councils of war, where, hearing all suggestions, he selected whatever was best; and certainly no general ever planned his battles more judiciously. But, if deranged during the course of the action, if any member of his plan was dislocated by sudden circumstances, he was slow in a readjustment. The consequence was, that he often failed in the field, and rarely against an enemy in station, as at Boston and York. He was incapable of fear, meeting personal dangers with the calmest unconcern. Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining if he saw a doubt, but, when once decided, going through with his purpose, whatever obstacles opposed. His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known; no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good, and a great man. His temper was naturally irritable and high-toned; but reflection and resolution had obtained a firm and habitual ascendancy over it. If ever, however, it broke its bonds, he was most tremendous in his wrath. In his expenses he was honourable, but exact; liberal in contributions to whatever promised utility; but frowning and unyielding on all visionary projects, and all unworthy calls on his

* We find another reference to this letter to Mazzei in an earlier part of the Correspondence. In writing to Madison (Aug. 3, 1797), Mr. Jefferson acknowledges the ‘general substance’ of the letter to be his, though not the diction; he gives the same explanation of his meaning in the expression, ‘forms of the British Government’, but adds, that it would be impossible to explain this publicly, without bringing on a personal difference between Washington and himself; he says nothing of the fabricated paragraph, nothing about the Cincinnati, but states, that he has been strongly advised by his friends at Philadelphia, neither to avow nor to disavow the letter. See Vol. III. p. 369.

charity. His heart was not warm in its affections; but he exactly calculated every man's value, and gave him a solid esteem proportioned to it. His person, you know, was fine; his stature, exactly what one would wish; his deportment, easy, erect, and noble; the best horseman of his age, and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback. Although in the circle of his friends, where he might be unreserved with safety, he took a free share in conversation, his colloquial talents were not above mediocrity, possessing neither copiousness of ideas, nor fluency of words. In public, when called on for a sudden opinion, he was unready, short, and embarrassed. Yet he wrote readily, rather diffusely, in an easy and correct style. This he had acquired by conversation with the world, for his education was merely reading, writing, and common arithmetic, to which he added surveying in a later day. His time was employed in action chiefly, reading little, and that only in agriculture and English history. His correspondence became necessarily extensive, and, with journalizing his agricultural proceedings, occupied most of his leisure hours within doors. On the whole, his character was, in its mass, perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said, that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great, and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance. For his was the singular destiny and merit, of leading the armies of his country successfully through an arduous war, for the establishment of its independence; of conducting its councils through the birth of a government, new in its forms and principles, until it had settled down into a quiet and orderly train; and of scrupulously obeying the laws through the whole of his career, civil and military, of which the history of the world furnishes no other example.

How, then, can it be perilous for you to take such a man on your shoulders? I am satisfied the great body of republicans think of him as I do. We were, indeed, dissatisfied with him on his ratification of the British treaty. But this was short-lived. We knew his honesty, the wiles with which he was encompassed, and that age had already begun to relax the firmness of his purposes; and I am convinced, he is more deeply seated in the love and gratitude of the republicans, than in the Pharisaical homage of the federal monarchists. For he was no monarchist from preference of his judgement. The soundness of that gave him correct views of the rights of man, and his severe justice devoted him to them. He has often declared to me, that he considered our new constitution as an experiment on the practicability of republican government, and with what dose of liberty man could be trusted for his own good; that he was determined the experiment should have a fair trial, and would lose the last drop of his blood in support of it. And these declarations he repeated to me the oftener and the more pointedly, because he knew my suspicions of Colonel Hamilton's views, and probably had heard from him the same declarations which I had; to wit, "that the British constitution, with its unequal representation, corruption, and other existing abuses, was the most perfect government which had ever been established on earth, and that a reformation of these abuses would make it an impracticable government." I do be-

lieve that General Washington had not a firm confidence in the durability of our government. He was naturally distrustful of men, and inclined to gloomy apprehensions: and I was ever persuaded, that a belief that we must at length end in something like a British constitution, had some weight in his adoption of the ceremonies of levees, birthdays, pompous meetings with Congress, and other forms of the same character, calculated to prepare us gradually for a change which he believed possible, and to let it come on with as little shock as might be to the public mind.' Vol. IV. pp. 141—143.

Nothing is more remarkable than the admirable manner in which, with a divided cabinet, Washington appears to have tempered the violence of the hostile parties, holding each faction in check, and, by his firm decision, steadily directing the energies of the Government. Upon Mr. Jefferson's intimating his intention to resign office as Secretary of State, the President expressed his deep regret, stating, that he thought it important to preserve the check of his (Jefferson's) opinions in the Administration, 'in order to keep things in their proper channel, and prevent them going too far.' He was probably aware also, that, by retaining the head of the republican party in administration, he kept that party in some measure on their good behaviour, and prevented Jefferson himself from becoming dangerous. Besides which, Jefferson's familiarity with foreign affairs, as well as his ready pen and his general talents for business, rendered him a valuable minister, whose place it was not very easy to supply. Upon the real motives of Jefferson's secession from office, these volumes throw little light. As to his alleged 'repugnance to public life', his wish for retirement, &c., they are mere expressions of course. Reference is made to a personal difference between him and the Secretary to the Treasury; but Hamilton had also intimated his intention to resign, which would have left Jefferson without any formidable rival in the Cabinet. Fauchet's explanation of his supposed motives, must be regarded, perhaps, as only the opinion of an individual, but of one who was likely to be in the confidence of Jefferson's party. Yet, Jefferson himself disclaims having had any views to the Presidency. 'Neither the splendour, nor the power, nor the difficulties, nor the fame or defamations, as may happen, attached to the first magistracy, have', he says, 'any attractions for me'. 'The second office of this Government', he writes in another letter, referring to the Vice-Presidency, 'is honourable and easy; the first is but a splendid misery'. It was a misery, however, which he did not shrink from subsequently exposing himself to. The real reason of his retiring, was probably disgust at not finding his French principles and preferences adopted by the Government. 'I cannot,' he says, 'in a letter to Madison (Jan. 1797), have

'a wish to see the scenes of 1793 revived as to myself, and to descend daily into the arena, like a gladiator, to suffer martyrdom in every conflict War with France, and consequent alliance with Great Britain, will completely compass the object of the executive council from the commencement of the war between France and England.' (Vol. III. p. 353.) When it is borne in mind, that Jefferson was the unbounded admirer of the French Revolutionists, sharing in their religious, or rather no-religious, as well as their political principles;—that Freneau, the translating clerk to Jefferson's office, was the Editor of a paper which, in its personal abuse of the Anglicans and monocrats, did not spare the President himself;—that Jefferson favoured this man and his rascally paper;—that an alliance with France at all events, was his favourite doctrine, his 'polar star';—we cannot be very much at a loss to account for his secession from Administration. Nor are his ultimate views and hopes to be mistaken. 'Republicanism', he writes to Colonel Monroe, 'must *lie on its oars*,—resign the vessel to the pilot.' And the reason assigned is, that, from the proceedings of Congress, it was evident, that '*one man outweighs them all in influence over the people*, who have supported his judgment against their own, and that of their representatives.' (Vol. III. p. 335.) Who that one man was, it is needless to say. Again: 'The republicans through every part of the Union say, that it was the irresistible influence and popularity of General Washington, played off by the cunning of Hamilton, which turned the government over to anti-republican hands, or turned the republicans chosen by the people into anti-republicans. He delivered it over to his successor in this state.' (p. 400.) Washington, Mr. Jefferson tells us, had early doubts as to the issue of the French Revolution.

'The fact is, that Gouverneur Morris, a high-flying monarchy man, shutting his eyes and his faith to every fact against his wishes, and believing every thing he desires to be true, has kept the President's mind constantly poisoned with his forebodings. That the President wishes the revolution may be established, I believe from several indications. I remember, when I received the news of the King's flight and capture, I first told him of it at his assembly. I never saw him so much dejected by any event in my life.' Vol. IV. p. 474.

In this dejection, Jefferson, it seems, did not sympathize; nor could he, perhaps, understand it. All the horrors of the French Revolution, which he accuses the Federalists of using as 'a raw head and bloody bones', produced no misgiving or relenting in his hard, unfeeling mind. There is an attempt, in the following paragraph, to impute to the weakness of age in Washington, conduct which will be thought to indicate rather the integrity of his judgement.

From the moment of my retiring from the Administration, the federalists got unchecked hold of General Washington. His memory was already sensibly impaired by age; the firm tone of mind for which he had been remarkable, was beginning to relax; its energy was abated; a listlessness of labour, a desire for tranquillity had crept on him; and a willingness to let others act, and even think for him. Like the rest of mankind, he was disgusted with atrocities of the French revolution, and was not sufficiently aware of the difference between the rabble who were used as instruments of their perpetration, and the steady and rational character of the American people, in which he had not sufficient confidence. The opposition, too, of the republicans to the British treaty, and the zealous support of the federalists in that unpopular, but favourite measure of theirs, had made him all their own. Understanding, moreover, that I disapproved of that treaty, and copiously nourished with falsehoods by a malignant neighbour of mine, who ambitioned to be his correspondent, he had become alienated from myself personally, as from the republican body generally of his fellow-citizens.' Vol. IV. p. 463.

Washington had, probably, more reason for being dissatisfied with Jefferson's conduct, than appears from these letters, which contain, it must be recollected, only his own representation of the transactions referred to. It does not appear that the President ever admitted the Secretary to his personal confidence; and it is highly remarkable, that Jefferson was unable to ascertain what were his sentiments on the subject of religion. While we may lament, on the one hand, that the fact of his belief in the Christian religion should be at all questionable, owing to his extreme and characteristic reserve, it makes something at least in favour of his reverence for religion, that the infidel party should have had no ground to claim him, as they would have been eager to do, as one of themselves. In the 'Ana' at the end of the Correspondence, there is a story of an attempt made by a deputation of the clergy, to extort from Washington a public declaration of his religious sentiments, but 'the old fox was too cunning for them.' 'I know', adds Jefferson, 'that Gouverneur Morris, who pretended to be in his secrets, and believed himself to be so, has often told me, that General Washington believed no more of the system than he himself did.' This vague assertion, upon which Jefferson himself seems to have placed little reliance*, will not be thought deserving of much attention; and whatever were Washington's religious opinions, they were evidently at an immeasurable remove from those of the school of Paine, Franklin, and Jefferson.

The hatred of Christianity entertained by the Author of

* See the character of Morris given above,—a man 'believing every thing he desires to be true;' yet, an *unbeliever* in Christianity!

these Letters, notwithstanding his calm temper and his cautious mode of expression, is continually indicated by an unusual strength and almost ferocity of expression, when the clergy are referred to. His own creed, as detailed in a letter to Dr. Rush (Vol. III. p. 515.), ranked Jesus with Socrates and Epictetus, and placed the New Testament far below the *Memorabilia* in point of genuineness, though he allowed it to consist of 'rich fragments.' As he advanced in old age, he learned, he says, 'to be less confident in the conclusions of human reason, and to give more credit to the honesty of contrary opinions.' (Vol. IV. p. 401.) But, whether this increase of self-diffidence and charity extended to religious opinions, does not appear. He calls Calvin 'an atheist;' and asserts, that 'it would be more pardonable to believe in no God at all, than to blaspheme him by the atrocious attributes of Calvin.' He found no difficulty, however, in receiving the doctrines of American Unitarianism, which he confidently expected that the present generation will see become 'the general religion of the United States.' (Vol. IV. p. 369.) His testimony was not wanted, to convince us of the true character of that system, which is scarcely distinguishable from pure Deism; but his augury, we confidently believe, will prove as false as some of his other predictions.

Of Mr. Jefferson's personal integrity and sincere patriotism, we entertain no suspicion. He had, we think, less 'frankness of character', than of manners. Shrewdness, cleverness, and address, extensive knowledge, and great natural ability, he unquestionably possessed. His claim to be considered as either a great statesman or a sound philosopher will not, however, be admitted out of America. He was upon all points a half-reasoner. His prejudices had the mastery of his understanding; he mistook freedom of thought for comprehensive views, and scepticism for philosophy. His "Notes on Virginia" have been highly praised; yet, they are superficial, inaccurate, and affected. His attainments were, in fact, far below his talents; and hence he was acute, but upon no subject profound. Although without imagination, and therefore without genius, he was still an enthusiast; but his was the enthusiasm of the reasoning faculty, which leads to the worship of its own abstractions, and a political theory was to him in place of the creations and illusions of poetry. Washington was, probably, the only being greater than himself, whom he did not hate; and towards him, he felt a constrained reverence in which affection had no share. Against kings, nobles, and priests, he had a fierce antipathy, which seemed to partake of the wildness of the woods and the vulgarity of the mob. The sudden expansion of a colony into a republic, lifted him into celebrity and influence: although possessed of no portion of the talent either of the orator or of the

soldier, his pen, in the dearth of great men, raised him to greatness. It is his real merit, that he had at heart the good of his country: it was his unhappiness to be at open war with the best interests of mankind.

Art. VII. 1. *Introductions to the Study of the Greek Classic Poets.*
Part I. Homer. By Henry Nelson Coleridge, Esq. M.A. sm.
8vo. pp. 239. Price 6s. 6d. London. 1830.

2. *The State of Society in the Age of Homer.* By William Bruce,
D.D. sm. 8vo. pp. 211. Belfast. 1827.

THERE is reason to fear that, in the business of education, too much attention has generally been paid to fact and circumstance, while inference and result are left to accidental impression, or to future exercise of the ratiocinative faculty. There can be no difficulty in admitting, that, in the earlier periods of instruction, our concern is chiefly with the memory, as the great, and the *then* more easily filled repository of materials for subsequent combination and use; but at no time can the appeal to the more purely intellectual powers be safely neglected; and a slight degree of attention on the tutor's part, will effect this with small difficulty. A passing observation, an apposite question, may lastingly impress the mind, and prepare the way for an application of classical and philosophical science, very different from that careless and uninterested possession of inestimable treasure, which usually distinguishes the highly educated men of the present day. To take Homer as an instance. Of the thousands who are regularly and skilfully conducted through all the circumstances of his syntax and his versification, how few are there who have their attention for one moment directed to the essentially poetical character of his diction, or to those vivid and important elucidations of antique manners, which are to be found in every page. Dr. Bruce's book shews, by a simple, but able analysis, that Homer's writings are not less valuable as records of the state of society in which he lived, than as illustrations of human character and feelings in all ages. Yet, how rarely do we find the student stimulated to this research; and how seldom does he think, even in riper years, of the magnificent Mæonian, in any other character than that of the first and greatest of Epic poets! With respect to his language, too, the mind and memory may have been duly charged with the peculiarities of Homeric phrase, and the scholar may have performed the usual quantum of exercises in the Homeric dialect, while the intellectual qualities of his style and expression

are overlooked amid the technicalities of grammatical terminology.

'Words', it is observed by Mr. Coleridge, 'are not only the signs of all thoughts, but seem originally, though subject to several exceptions, to have been the very mental pictures of all visible things. To use words, therefore, in their primary and most simple meanings, is one sure mode of preserving purity and truth of diction. Nor will such a rule of style limit the powers, or weaken the splendour of the writer; for it may be truly said, that some of the most splendid poets in the world, have been those through whose transparent language the face and form of external nature are visible to the mind's eye. Homer, Dante, and Chaucer, as they are the most picturesque of poets, so are they, in this respect, amongst the most faultless of writers. They found and used their native tongues in the freshness of youth, when, as yet, the misdirected action of metaphysical reasoning had not blunted the sharpness, or dimmed the colours, or confused the simplicity of words. In their verses, we see sights and hear sounds. Living before the inevitable power of association had distracted the unity and entireness of men's conceptions, they seem even now absolutely above its reach. In them, the plainest narrative is not prosaic, nor the most homely images vulgar. Consider, as a sufficient proof of this vividness of representation, and this immunity from low associations, the details of the feasting in the *Iliad*, the torments in the *Inferno*, or those many noble passages, too long for quotation, in the *Knight's Tale*, and the *Troilus and Cresseide*, of the bright and morning star of our own literature.'

As an illustration of the *picturesqueness* of Homer's language, we may refer to the two celebrated lines in which Antilochus announces to Achilles the death of Patroclus, and the spoliation of his armour by Hector. They are quoted by Mr. Coleridge as an example of 'the perfection of energetic brevity:' we should cite them rather as an instance of the power of compressed, yet simple language, in the expression of picture.

Κεῖται Πάτροκλος νέκυσ δὲ δὴ ἀμφιμάχονται
Γυμνοῦ· ἀτὰρ τάγε τεύχε' ἔχει κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ.

'Patroclus is no more. The Grecians fight
For his bare corse, and Hector hath his arms.'

COWPER.

This miserable rendering is cited by Mr. Coleridge without comment; and we really regret, that a name like Cowper's should be appended to such a bald and crude disfiguration of a singularly expressive original. Without attempting to give the poetry of the passage, or even its inimitable compression, we offer the following as more nearly approaching to fidelity.

Prostrate Patroclus lies. Rages the fight
O'er his despoiled corpse. His arms of proof,
He of the quickly-glancing helm hath seized,
Hector

This is not by any means what it ought to be; but it may serve to shew, both where Cowper has failed, and where the peculiarity of the Greek lies. The word *κείται* does not merely narrate; it *exhibits*; and the man-milliner phraseology of the English couplet, 'is no more', cannot be said even to express its meaning. *Ἀμφιμάχονται*, in like manner, is not even translated by the words *fight for*: it portrays at a stroke the fierce struggle round the body of Patroclus, as the very centre and object of the fight. The exquisite compound, *κορυθαίολος*, is wholly passed over. Now, we see no reason why these striking qualities of Homeric expression should not be pointed out to the boys of an academic class, as well as to men who have passed through the higher grades of education; and we are persuaded that it might be done with beneficial effect, from the very first minute in which the pupil enters on the study of Homer.

We are not, however, prepared to say, that Mr. Coleridge has taken the best possible way of giving instruction to those 'who are still called boys.' His object is avowedly to facilitate the progress of the scholar, by enabling him to form 'a more just and liberal judgement of the characters and merits of the Greek poets, than he has commonly an opportunity of doing at school;' and this important purpose, Mr. C. hopes to effect, by commencing with a somewhat misty explanation of the distinction between fancy and imagination, to which, we will venture to affirm, not one schoolboy in a hundred will take the trouble of paying the slightest attention, or be able to comprehend it, if he should. We fully acquiesce in the justness of the distinction itself, though the terms do not seem to us judiciously chosen, nor the illustrations happily selected; but we despair of its utility for any practical purpose of juvenile instruction. That half a dozen clever youths, such as were concerned with Mr. C. in getting up the 'Etonian', might be interested in such matters, we are not disposed to question; but we are quite satisfied that they are caviare to the *οἱ πολλοί*.

Another defect in the book before us is, want of simplicity and compactness; qualities indispensable in works intended for youth, and desirable on grounds of general criticism. Mr. Coleridge is an eloquent writer, but his style is loose and unfinished; nor does he always seem to have a very distinct apprehension of his own meaning. Take the following dashing paragraph, for instance, place it in the hands of one of 'those who are still called boys', and if he can get a clear insight into

its specific import, he will have done that which we dare not flatter ourselves with having accomplished.

‘Poetry is the convergence, nay, the identity, of all other species of knowledge; it creates the Individual to stand as the symbol of the Universal, the Finite for the Infinite; it has to do, not with men, but man; it is addressed to the great republican heart of the civilized world, and must therefore speak in the all-pervading language of essential human nature. No poet can be a great poet, but as being inclusively a naturalist and a historian in the light as well as the life of genuine philosophy. All other men’s worlds are the poet’s chaos. His imagination must be all compact, that is, all his powers of every sort must be concentrated into one, before his pen will be able to give to the airy forms of things unknown,

“A local habitation and a name.”

His is that wondrous and alchemic power which extracts and purifies and compounds the material drugs supplied by learning and research, and waves over them the wand of its enchantment, till, in the crisis of mental projection, they glance out embodied and transfigured into eternal images of light.’

Still, Mr. Coleridge’s is a clever book, and will, we should hope, become popular. It comprises within a convenient space, much valuable and pleasantly conveyed information concerning the Homeric poems, no treadily accessible in our own language; and, as a valuable and attractive common-place book on Homer, it may claim high praise. We strongly recommend it to all who may feel an interest in these inquiries. Mr. C. proposes to extend his investigations to the ‘whole body of Greek classical ‘Poetry;’ and we trust that the ‘favourable circumstances’ on which is suspended the performance of his promise, may afford him ample encouragement to persevere. He is an able critic, and he writes with a spirit and buoyancy that would make much inferior criticism acceptable.

Of Dr. Bruce’s book, we have already intimated our opinion; and we shall say little more concerning it, than that it is an exceedingly valuable work, and not less unpretending than valuable. Besides an introduction, biographical and miscellaneous, we have, under the heads of Astronomy,—Geography,—Agriculture,—Government, Military Affairs, and Religion,—Private Life and Manners,—Ornamental and Mechanical Arts,—a complete picture of the Homeric Age. It must have cost much labour, and while it will be highly acceptable to all investigators of antiquity, we would suggest, that it might be made an important auxiliary at a judiciously selected period of education.

But the only who object to this position, cannot at least have lost any interest in his mind by travelling the route traced by the

- Art. VIII. 1. *Illustrations of the Passes of the Alps, by which Italy communicates with France, Switzerland, and Germany.* By William Brockedon, Member of the Academies of Fine Arts at Florence and Rome. 2 vols. 4to. London. 1829, 30.
2. *A Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps.* By Henry L. Wickham, A.M. and the Rev. J. A. Cramer, A.M. late Students of Christ Church, Oxford. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. xxviii. 236. Price 12s. London. 1828.
3. *Hannibal's Passage of the Alps.* By a Member of the University of Cambridge. fcap 8vo. pp. 158. London. 1830.

THE principal authors who have written upon the subject of Hannibal's route over the Alps, as enumerated by the Authors of the "Dissertation", are, among the ancients, Polybius, L. C. Alimentus, L. C. Antipater, Livy, Cornelius Nepos; among the moderns, Honoré Bouche, P. Labbe, Menestrier, Mandajors, Folard, St. Simon, Grossley, Abauzit, De Loges, Denina, Whitaker, De Vaudoncourt, Tytler, De Luc, Letronne, Fortin d'Urban, Roche, La Renaudière, Larauza, Napoleon; to which are to be added, Messrs. Wickham and Cramer themselves, Mr. Brockedon the artist, and the anonymous Member of the University of Cambridge. Of course, upon a point which admits of so much learned disserting, little can be certainly known. Strabo, we are told, was quite mistaken upon the subject, and Livy was a blunderer. It was long supposed, that, agreeably to the received interpretation of the Roman historian, the Carthaginian crossed the Alps by the pass of Mont Genève. Such was the conclusion of D'Anville. Mr. Whitaker, in two large octavo volumes, labours to shew that Hannibal went by the Great St. Bernard. Larauza, who is supported by Napoleon himself, fixes upon Mont Cenis. General Melville first suggested the theory so learnedly advocated by Messrs. Wickham and Cramer, and so ably illustrated by the pen and pencil of Mr. Brockedon, that he crossed the Little St. Bernard. While the Marquis St. Simon and the Cantabrigian maintain, that he could have passed only by way of Monte Viso. The distance between the most northerly of these several passes and the latter, which is the nearest southward, is about 1° 20' of latitude; of course much above a hundred miles!

And what does it signify? yawns the incurious reader,—forgetting, perhaps, how much pains he has occasionally taken to ascertain the truth of some idle report relating to a matter of infinite insignificance. Life is, with numbers, kept from stagnating, simply by the impulse of this universal passion of curiosity. But the party who objects this question, cannot have been a traveller,—cannot, at least, have felt any interest awakened in his mind by traversing the scenes haunted by the

mighty dead; he must be destitute alike of classic, poetical, or antiquarian enthusiasm, — a plain, cold, absolute utilitarian. Why, what does it signify, who was Junius, or who built the pyramids, or where stood the tower of Belus, or a hundred other matters of enigmatic interest, which have set a thousand pens and presses in motion? The question which has posed and puzzled the learned through centuries, is so much the more worth canvassing. And how amusing is it, and not uninteresting, when, with much learned ado and pains, the question has been seemingly set at rest, by such an adjustment of coincidences, probabilities, and presumptive proofs, as almost amounts to moral demonstration, to have the whole house of cards knocked down at a stroke, or to find at least a strong doubt (or re-doubt) thrown up, which threatens to demolish it! To the party himself who is thus besieged in his favourite theory, the matter is often no joke. To find a fresh claimant start up, when we have regarded our title to the honour as fully proved, and the cause as won, is a sore trial. The point which was originally a matter of indifference, will by this time have acquired, like a game of cards, importance from the stake. Here is Mr. Brockedon for instance, who has crossed the Alps sixty times, and explored thirty different routes, — every one, in fact, except just that one which, our Cantabrigian says, was Hannibal's route, — although he might not care a rush at first, which way the Carthaginians passed, must now be gifted with more than an average portion of good temper, to endure contradiction from a Cantab who possibly never climbed a mountain much higher than the Gogmagog hills. Whoever is right, or wrong, on this point, Mr. Brockedon's work, indeed, will lose none of its value or interest. It wants only a supplementary number, that should illustrate the Col de Viso, which he has so unaccountably treated as unworthy his notice. For what he has given us, however, we feel most grateful. By a series of admirably drawn views, in which he has seized the most picturesque or characteristic features of the scenery, he has illustrated the twelve principal passes into Italy; so as to enable us, with the help of the great map and the smaller topographical plans with which he has furnished us, to follow the Alpine traveller, step by step, through craggy defile and up dizzy height;

And placed on high, above the storm's career,
Look downward where a hundred realms appear.

Nor do the graphic illustrations, interesting as they are, form the whole merit of the work, as is too often the case with costly publications of this description. Each pass is illustrated by a topographical account of the route, extremely clear, full, and well written, evidently drawn up from a very careful survey of

the country, and enriched with historic references which do credit to the Author's general information and diligence. To those readers who have money to spare upon works of art, Mr. Brockedon's volumes cannot fail to present an irresistible attraction. The engravings, though not all of equal merit, are sufficiently well executed, by Finden, Wallis, Jeavons, Willmore, &c.; some of the plates are admirably engraved. In the last Number, (the work appeared in twelve Numbers,) Mr. Brockedon gives the following account of the origin of the publication.

The object originally contemplated by the Author of this work, was an illustration of the route of Hannibal across the Alps. He had become interested in this subject, chiefly by reading that clear and able inquiry, entitled, "A Dissertation on the Passage of Hannibal over the Alps, by a Member of the University of Oxford." After an attentive perusal, it occurred to the Author, that such scenes and facts as the site of an encampment, the *locale* of a *roche-blanche*, and a ravine where an accumulation of snow could occur, were subjects which the pencil might illustrate, and remove, by views of those scenes, the doubts which description alone might have left. The Author visited the Alps expressly for this object; but, after having traversed the great chain by several passes, he thought that the subject was capable of extension, and that scenes illustrative of the various routes across the Alps, would be interesting to those who had not travelled there, and renew the recollections of those who had. Fidelity of representation, rather than picturesque effect, has been his object as an artist; and in his examination and inquiries into the topography and history of the Alps, he thinks that he may, without presumption, claim the merit of not having lightly undertaken his task; since he has expressly for this work, before and during its publication, traversed the Alps nearly sixty times, and by above thirty different routes into Italy, from the States on its frontiers.

With reference to the passage of Hannibal, the result of the Author's examination and inquiry has left upon his mind the most perfect conviction, that it was by the Pass of the Little St. Bernard, and that it is to this Pass only, that the description of Polybius can apply. The adoption of this Author's history of the event, as the sole authority upon the subject, has been induced by his declaration, that he made journeys in the Alps, expressly to retrace the steps of Hannibal. These journeys were made within a few years after the event which Polybius describes, while persons were yet living who had been eye-witnesses of the passage of the army, and who furnished him with information and details. He avows, that the object of his retracing the steps of the Carthaginian general arose not only from his admiration of the exploit, but to settle the contradictions which had even then appeared in the narrations of those who described the event, and who had already embellished it with fables. The history of Polybius is remarkable for its clearness and detailed description of scenes and events. Unfortunately, from his having written in Greek, few of the names of places, or of the people in the line of march, are recorded by him; but

the times and distances are so carefully marked, and the places where certain events occurred, are so clearly and admirably described, that the true route has been discovered by the evidence which still exists in perfect concurrence with his account; and these coincidences are found on the Pass of the Little St. Bernard, and on no other.

Various authors have supposed a different line of march; but they have either taken Livy as authority, or attempted a reconciliation of Livy with Polybius. This, however, is impracticable, for Livy is inconsistent with himself, that an actual examination of the Alps, upon the route which he states to have been the Pass of Hannibal—the Mont Genève,—is at variance with his own description; while the absurdities with which he has laden his narrative, shew that he had adopted such fabulous accounts as Polybius had despised and rejected, and had sought to reconcile them with the clear and simple narrative of Polybius himself, where such narrative related to the passing events of the march, but without acknowledging the author from whom he had so largely and literally borrowed. The errors into which those have fallen who, in writing upon the subject of Hannibal's passage, have taken Livy as authority, have arisen from their being ignorant of the Alps as was Livy himself, and from having fancied that maps and descriptions alone were requisite, not only for understanding the subject, but for informing others. This has produced the absurdities of Whitaker and Folard, and the errors of Letronne and of many others. Some, with preconceived notions, have traversed the Alps, and eked out their conjectures with bits from Livy and Polybius, quoting from the one or the other where it favoured their views, and rejecting both, under the charge of error, presumption, and interpolation, where neither could be made to agree with the theory which they had originally formed.

By the ancients, the great chain of the Alps was divided into seven portions, viz. the Maritime Alps, as far northward as Monte Viso; the Cottian Alps, extending from that summit to Mont Cenis; the Graian Alps, to which belong Mont Iseran and the Little St. Bernard; the Pennine Alps, including Mont Blanc itself and the Great St. Bernard, and extending to the sources of the Rhone and the Rhine; next, still further eastward, the Rhetian Alps, including Mount St. Gothard; the Noric Alps, or those of the Tyrol; and lastly, the Julian Alps, which terminate on the confines of the ancient Illyricum. Four passes only are mentioned by Polybius. The first was the maritime route afterwards known as the *Via Aurelia*; the second passed "through the country of the *Taurini*, over the *Saltus Taurinus*, now Mont Genève"; the third, over the Graian Alp, or the Little St. Bernard; the fourth, over Mount Splügen. The first of these routes is still in use, leading, by the Pass of the Cornice, from Nice to Genoa, while another route leads over the Col di Tende to Turin. The route of Mont Genève is also in use, leading from Briançon to Susa, or over

the Col de Sestrieres to Pinerol. Another route to Turin passes from the valley of the Durance into that of the Stura, by way of the Col d'Argentière; but this is impracticable for carriages. All these routes, however, are in some measure superseded by the great route, constructed by Napoleon, over Mont Cenis, which joins the Roman road over Mont Genève at Susa. The route by the Little St. Bernard, which we shall presently speak of, leads from the valley of the Isère into that of Aosta, where it falls in with the route over the Great St. Bernard. Next in order comes the great road of the Simplon. All the passes we have enumerated, lead from France, Savoy, or Switzerland, into Piedmont. The remaining ones illustrated by Mr. Brockedon, are, those of Mont St. Gothard, the Grimsel and Gries, Monte Stelvio, and the Bernardin and Splugen, leading into the Milanese territory, and the pass of the Brenner, between Inspruck and Verona: this last is the lowest of all, having an elevation of only 4700 feet above the sea. Of the Swiss and German passes into Italy, we can now take no notice. Those only which come under consideration in the present inquiry, (for Mont Cenis may be put out of the question in spite of Napoleon,) are, the Little St. Bernard, Mont Genève, and Monte Viso, which Mr. Brockedon has not described, and which is situated between that of Mont Genève and the Col d'Argentiere.

Strabo expressly asserts, apparently on the authority of Polybius, that the pass which led through the country of the *Taurini*, was the one which Hannibal traversed; and by this, it is agreed on all hands, he meant that of Mont Genève. He distinguishes it from that which led through the country of the *Salassi*, over the Graian Alp or the Little St. Bernard. Mr. Cramer contends, however, that the words—'which Hannibal traversed', are not cited by Strabo from Polybius, but are his own commentary, and an erroneous one.

In this instance, he has followed the opinion which was maintained by Livy, and which was most prevalent in his time. If Polybius had expressly named the passage by which he affirmed that Hannibal had crossed the Alps, it would not have been a subject of doubt and controversy, as Livy asserts it to have been when he was writing his history. p. 17.

That such doubt existed, is evident from the fact, that, according to Pliny, the Pennine or Pœnine Alp (the Great St. Bernard) took its name from the passage of the Punic army under Hannibal. Absurd as is this etymology, it could never have suggested itself, had the real route been clearly ascertained. The original word is doubtless the same as has been converted into Apennine, and answers to the Celtic *beinn*, *ben*,

or *pen*, a summit; as the Graian Alp probably derived its name from *Craig*, a cliff. It is remarkable, that Gibbon, misled by Cluverius, conceived that Polybius took Hannibal over the Great St. Bernard; and being naturally surprised at his choosing so circuitous a route, he wavered between that opinion and the supposition which rests upon the authority of Livy, that he crossed the Cottian Alp or Mont Genève. He was not aware of the intermediate pass of the Little Bernard, or he would probably have been led to the conclusion, that *that* must be the pass referred to by Polybius.

Livy, while expressing his surprise that it should have been matter of doubt, in what direction Hannibal crossed the Alps, refers to the opinion of Cœlius Antipater, who affirmed in his history of the second Punic war, that the Carthaginians passed by the *Cremonis jugum*, another name for the Graian pass, which name is preserved in Mont Cramont, a part of the chain connecting the Little St. Bernard with Mont Blanc. But this opinion, although resting on the authority of so early an historian, Livy sets aside by a remark which shews what had led him to embrace a different theory. The passage of the Pennine Alp and of the Cremonian pass would equally, he contends, have brought Hannibal down, not among the *Taurini*, but among the Libuan Gauls. 'Now it is agreed on all hands,' he adds, 'that he arrived among the *Taurini* after crossing 'the Alps.' Upon this argument, Gibbon remarks, that it is not necessary to suppose, from the narrative, that the country of the *Taurini*, was the first district of Italy into which Hannibal descended: it suffices that it was the first where he fought a battle. 'The former explanation is adopted by Livy, but the latter appears to me very capable of being defended. It deprives the Latin historian of what appears to him a decisive proof; it even turns this decisive proof against himself, by laying open the source of his mistake. The argument upon which Livy builds, is not only refuted, but destroyed; and the authority of Polybius subsists alone and unrivalled *.

Now, if this was the true ground of Livy's opinion, it may well be supposed to have misled Strabo and others. That Hannibal met with his first encounter in Italy from the Taurinian Gauls, was well known; but how he arrived among them was the question. Accordingly, Ammianus Marcellinus, who takes him over the Pennine Alp, still makes him descend upon the *Taurini*. It seems to have been taken for granted, that he must have reached them by the *Saltus Taurinus*, or Tauriman pass. Whereas it is clear from Polybius's account, that a con-

* Gibbon's *Miscell. Works*, vol. ii. p. 185. Cited by Wickham and Cramer, p. 148.

siderable interval elapsed between his encamping at the foot of the Alps, and his inviting the *Taurini* to enter into alliance with him. The Authors of the Dissertation suppose, that he descended upon the *Insubres*, with whom Polybius represents the *Taurini* as being at war; and they attempt to reconcile this supposition with the statement of Livy, that the pass in question would have brought him down among the Libuan Gauls, by citing Ptolemy as reckoning the *Libui* 'under the *Insubres*'. But, by under, ὑπὸ, their Cambridge antagonist has very properly remarked, Ptolemy could not mean 'in subjection to', but *below* in the sense of proximity; and it is certain, that the Insubrians occupied the country between the Ticinus and the Addua, having Milan for their capital. Their 'zealous co-operation with Hannibal', * is by no means very clear. Polybius states, that the *Taurini*, who dwelt at the foot of the Alps, were then at war with the Insubrians. This, however, far from proving that the latter were Hannibal's allies, makes against the supposition. He would not, in that case, have invited the aid of the Taurinians; but he might well suppose that the latter, being engaged in hostilities with their neighbours, would the more readily enter into alliance with the Carthaginians.

We must evidently understand the expressions, κατ' ἑρε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Παδὸν πεδία, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰσόμβρων ἔθνος, as a general description of the plains of Lombardy, upon which he might properly be represented as descending, on issuing from the valley of Aosta, inhabited by the *Salassi*. At the same time, he might be said to have made his actual descent among the *Libicii* or Libuan Gauls, whose chief city was *Vercellæ*, and whose territory bordered on that of the *Salassi*. But, though placed between him and the Insubrians, whose territory lay further eastward, these *Libui* might correctly be placed by Ptolemy under the *Insubres*, reckoning from north to south. Instead of understanding Polybius as meaning, by the plains of the Po and the territory of the Insubrians, the same country, it seems to us more reasonable to suppose, that he intended to distinguish between them;—that by the plains of the Po, the country of the Libuan Gauls was chiefly intended; while the county of the *Taurini*, which is described as lying at the foot of the Alps, (in fact, Piedmont,) would be to the south-west of an army issuing from the Salassian defiles. It may be inferred also from the narrative of Polybius, that Hannibal had advanced some way into these plains, when he laid siege to the Taurinian capital; by the capture of which city, and the massacre of its inhabitants, he is said to have spread such terror among the

* Cramer's Italy, i. 51!

neighbouring barbarians, that they all came immediately, and submitted at discretion. We agree with the Cantabrigian, that Hannibal, before the capture of Turin, could not have entered the territory of the Insubrians at all; but we do not admit of his inference, that therefore he must have entered the plains of the Po by way of the Taurinian pass, or that Polybius, in the expressions above cited (*κατ'ἤρε*, &c.), 'must refer to the ulterior and eventful circumstance of his bold movement.' According to what appears to us the most natural interpretation of his words, the Historian correctly describes the descent of the army into the open plains; and Mr. Cramer has created an unnecessary difficulty in the way of his own hypothesis, by misunderstanding Polybius, as if he had made him descend among the Insubrians. It may serve to relieve the dryness of this criticism, as well as to illustrate the accuracy of the Greek Historian, if we transcribe Mr. Brockedon's interesting description of this part of the route.

'Aosta, formerly Augusta Prætoria, is a place of great antiquity, and was known as Cordele, the chief city of the Salassi, who possessed the valley of Aosta. The journey from Aosta to Chantillon, lies through the most beautiful part of the valley: it abounds with fine forests and old chateaux in romantic situations A little below the Pont de Sarrasins (beyond Chantillon), the valley narrows to a defile, formed by the base of Mont Jovet; and the road, which turns abruptly to the right, is cut like a lateral furrow out of the rock, which in many places overhangs the road; while towards the ravine, it is guarded by a wall, beneath which the torrent of the Doire rushes at a frightful depth. Above the road on the left, is the Chateau of St. Germain. The road through this defile, thus cut out of the precipitous side of the rocks, was an early work of the Romans, but was subsequently widened and improved, at a great expense, by the Monks of St. Bernard, to facilitate the communication with their mountains, and the access to the mineral springs of the valley, and the baths of Courmayeur. An inscription cut in the rock records this service.

'About a league and a half below the defile of Mont Jovet, is the town of Verres; thence, the road continues along the banks of the Doire, and among scenes of great richness and beauty, to Fort Bard, where the valley narrows rather suddenly, and the course of the river is through a gorge formed by vast rocks, which block up the valley, and render Fort Bard a military position of great strength.

'The descent from Fort Bard to Donas, is short but steep, and cut out of the rock, as at the defile of Mont Jovet. An arch of rock which has been cut through, a Roman work, still remains. This part of the road is one of the points of evidence which have been strongly urged in support of the opinion, that Hannibal passed by the Great St. Bernard. The tradition is preserved among the inhabitants, that Hannibal passed through this valley; and some early historians state, that an inscription on the side of this road, cut in the rock, was seen by them. Luitprand, bishop of Cremona in the tenth century, says, that

he saw entire, *TRANSITUS ANNIBALIS*; and Paul Jovius says, that there are letters shewn, which are engraved upon the rocks at Barr, a monument of Hannibal's having passed that way." Such an inscription no longer exists; but, if this evidence be satisfactory of the passage of Hannibal here, it by no means confirms his passage by the Great Saint Bernard; for it applies with equal force to the passage of the Little Saint Bernard, which also leads into Italy by the Val D'Aosta. From Donas, the road descends to Saint Martin's, a town surrounded with high rocks, and where a bold and lofty arch crosses the torrent which descends from the Monte Rosa by the Val de Lys. Here, the valley of Aosta may be said to terminate; the mountains lower, the hills slope down into the plains of Italy, and, after passing through Setto Vittone, the traveller arrives at Ivrea, whence roads branch off to Milan and to Turin.

It will be seen from this description, with what accuracy Hannibal, on reaching the mouth of the Salassian valley (or the Val D'Aosta), might be represented as boldly descending into the plains of the Po. At Ivrea, the ancient Eporedia, the frontier town, apparently, of the *Salassi*, he would have his choice between the route leading through the territory of the *Libicii* to that of the *Insubres*, and that which he appears to have followed, leading more directly southward to the mouth of the Dora, and thence ascending the Po to Turin.

We cannot attempt even an analysis of the geographical investigation, by which the Authors of the Dissertation have refuted the hypothesis, that Hannibal crossed the Mont Genève. Suffice it to say, that the character of the pass itself, as well as the whole of the route from the Rhone, is quite irreconcilable with the narrative of Polybius. It is the less necessary to enter into this part of the discussion, inasmuch as the 'Member of the University of Cambridge,' while warmly combating the opinion supported by the learned member of the sister University, gives up Mont Genève, and fixes upon Monte Viso. According to this hypothesis, the former pass (that is, over the Cottian Alps) was not known to Polybius at all; for, 'in the description which is given of the alpine passes by Polybius, and preserved by Strabo, there is nothing,' we are told, 'to contradict the supposition, that the *only* road named by him as conducting *διὰ Ταυρινῶν*, was the one which crosses the Monte Viso.'

In positive favour of that mountain, in preference to all others now known to lead in *Taurinos*, there are the following reasons. It is, first, the only pass which will agree with what may be deduced from the narrative of Polybius, and particularly with his clear and undisputed statement of the view from its summit, of the plains of Italy. Secondly, it is the only pass which will agree with the account of Livy, of the march through the northern borders of the *Vocantii* and

Tricorii,—the character of the Druance—the appearance of the Alps—the valleys among which the army was led astray, and of the view which *he* also describes of the Italian plains. And lastly, this is the only route which will reconcile the accounts of the two historians.

pp. 109—111.

But is it conceivable or possible, that the pass of the Cottian Alp, the shortest passage into Gaul, the lowest of all the Alpine passes, and that by which, according to tradition, the Gauls first made their descent into the fertile plains of Lombardy, was unknown to Polybius; as it must have been if Monte Viso was intended by the *Saltus Taurinus*? We really think that an hypothesis which requires such a supposition, refutes itself. That Hannibal did not take this route, when prevented from passing through the Ligurian territory, could have arisen only from the necessity under which he found himself, of retreating to the northward, as it was the direct road from Spain into Italy. But in that case, he must equally have overshot the pass over the Col de Viso, supposing a road to have existed. And as there is no reason to believe that any ancient road was carried over Mont Cenis, the pass of the Little St. Bernard would be the next at which he would arrive. All that this Writer adduces to shew, that Hannibal did not cross by Mont Genève, serves only to clear the way for the opinion which he so zealously controverts, that he crossed the Graian Alp. In fact, the only argument deserving of any consideration, in favour of Monte Viso, is the circumstance above referred to, that a view of the fertile plains of the Po, which Hannibal is represented by Polybius as pointing out to his disheartened soldiers from the summit of the pass, can be obtained from no other part of the chain which he traversed. If Livy refers, as he undoubtedly does, to the Mont Genève, from no part of that passage can such a view be obtained, any more than from the Little St. Bernard. We confess that we could wish to find a better way of getting over this difficulty, than by understanding that Hannibal pointed out the direction of the fertile plains which were the land of promise to his soldiers, and the course of the waters towards the Po. The language of Polybius is:—

‘ Seeing his troops in a state of great dejection from the hardships they had suffered, and those that still awaited them, Hannibal sought, by drawing them together, to raise their drooping spirits. The sight of Italy was the readiest expedient he had for this purpose; for it is so close beneath these mountains, that, when viewed together, the Alps appear as the citadel of Italy.’ Wickham and Cramer, p. 223.

Viewed from the plains, the Alps may be correctly represented as having this appearance; but we frankly confess we are

unable to account for what must either be regarded as a singular failure of recollection, in a writer who had himself trodden the summit of the Alpine passes, or a dramatic embellishment. The difficulty is a considerable one, and we must leave it as we find it *.

We have already stated, that Mr. Brockedon did not examine the Col de Viso. The Authors of the Dissertation, however, since the publication of their first edition, examined this pass, and their account of it is as follows :

'The gallery cut in this pass, was formed by a Marquess of Saluzzo, for the purpose of facilitating his intercourse with Dauphiny. It is, however, too high up the mountain to have ever been of material service, and it is now impassable. The Col de Viso is a most difficult passage ; but the view from it over the plains of Piedmont, is so magnificent as to repay amply the fatigue necessary to accomplish it. The difficulties are such as to make it certain, that Francis I. could not have carried any part of his army over it. It is so little frequented at present, that we found it not easy to procure, even on the Italian side, guides who were acquainted with the road ; and on the French side, it is quite unknown.' p. 235.

That Hannibal encamped upon this lofty and narrow ridge, we cannot believe ; but we should have been thankful for a less meagre description of this remarkable pass, as well as of the whole route from Coni to Grenoble. We will not pronounce the question to be finally laid at rest ; but we must say, that the learned Authors of the Dissertation remain at present masters of the field ; and that while we cannot refuse to their antagonist the merit of learned pains and ingenuity, he has not succeeded in establishing a more probable hypothesis. If he still clings to his argument, we recommend him to start for the Alps forthwith ; and on his return, we will give him a second hearing.

Art. IX. *The History of Chivalry and the Crusades*. By the Rev. Henry Stebbing, M.A. M.R.S.L. 2 vols. 18mo. pp. 652. Edinburgh. 1830. (Constable's Miscellany.)

INTIMATELY connected with the progress of social institutions, and the strangest of all histories,—that of the

* 'If it is pretended,' say the Authors of the Dissertation, in refuting M. Larauza's theory, 'that Hannibal ascended the loftier summits to see the fields of Cisalpine Gaul stretched below his feet, we maintain, that he could as easily do this from the Graian, as from the Cottian pass, since the peaks of the Ruitor and Valaisan, which rise above the former, would furnish as boundless a prospect as those of Corna Rossa or Roche Melon, belonging to the latter.' p. 182. May we suppose that Hannibal had climbed to a summit which afforded a view not obtained from the Col, and that he called his chiefs around him there ?

human mind, during the lapse of many ages, Chivalry may be considered as one of those moral phenomena which have exercised an unaccountable influence on the destiny of mankind. Of all questions, or theories, it seems most to have baffled the investigations, and tortured the ingenuity of the historian, the philosopher, and the statesman. Opposed to every common motive of worldly ambition or aggrandisement, and tracing its origin to some of the most deep and sacred feelings recognized by a state of society, at once religious, heroic, and full of enthusiasm,—the announcement of the first crusade seemed an appeal to all that was most splendid, generous, and disinterested in the Christian world; and it was eagerly and universally replied to by all but the most sordid or pusillanimous princes of the times. Wild as were its motives, and disastrous as were its consequences, the design of rescuing the tomb of the Messiah from the fierce scorn and pollution of the Moslem, and of avenging and protecting the numerous pilgrims to its holy shrine, was, in those ages, conceived to be a duty of the most lofty and indispensable order. It was the bright unfading halo of the saint encompassing the head of the Christian hero,—the bravery of the *old* chivalric age, refined and exalted by all the new imaginative devotion and inextinguishable fervour of the then twofold character of the soldier and the martyr. No wonder, therefore, that the train having been once laid, and the spark applied by a priestly hand, materials so combustible as knight-errantry and religious exaltation should explode with a destructive energy which shook alike the throne of the Sultan and of European monarchs; while it rivetted the chains of papal dominion still faster upon the neck of abject and impoverished Christendom. Yet, opposed as were the Crusades to the real policy both of princes and of people, there resulted, along with the evils which they entailed, some degree of good; as little anticipated indeed, as the grievous troubles they inflicted, but which, by means above human foresight, laid the ground work of future improvement in our religious and social institutions. Were it nothing else than having tamed down much of the ferocity, the reckless cruelty and barbarity of the feudal spirit, and somewhat of the savage intolerance, blind superstitions, and monkish persecution of a corrupt faith, which these Crusades first taught to pause in its victorious conversion at the point of the sword, by the many sufferings experienced in its career; it would be unwise and unphilosophical to pronounce a sweeping and unmitigated condemnation of undertakings which, at those periods, may have advanced Europe a step towards improvement, by the absence of its feudal Chiefs. Adversity is a severe mistress, and imprints good lessons on the memory of nations as well as of individuals; and were it

not, perhaps, for our present knowledge of the Holy Wars, and the History of the Irish Rebellion, Europe would not now be enjoying a general peace, nor Ireland freedom from torture, bigotry, and degradation.

Be this as it may, we are willing to hazard the foregoing remarks on a subject so open to discursive and variable views, and on which few original or profound writers are known to coincide. We were the further induced to it, by remarking in the entire character and tendency of the volumes before us, a free, manly and vigorous spirit of thought and reasoning, an impartiality, and a sustained study of truth, correct views and principles, and a deep sense of the responsibility attaching to the public discussion of questions involving the dignity, and the dearest interests of society, and of mankind. It is thus the Author has endeavoured to offer such observations in the progress of his narrative, 'as may excite the reader to use his reflection on a subject, in regard to which popular opinion is so liable to be misled. The highly coloured pictures which have been given of knighthood, and of the times in which it flourished, if they do no worse injury to truth, lead to false opinions respecting the progress of general improvements; and, by doing this, induce the inquirer to regard the advantages at present possessed by society, as of less value than they really are; or to be indifferent in the struggle which is going on, to provide mankind with more certain guides in the pursuit of knowledge and happiness, than were enjoyed when war was the only road to distinction, and courage the first of all virtues.'

While thus justly reasoning, the Author has not forgotten to do full justice to the genius and splendour of past times, and to array in all its military pomp and panoply the form of ancient knighthood, and the imposing laws and ceremonies which were once promulgated, and are even yet continued to be observed. The influence which such institutions extended through all ranks of society is admitted to have been considerable; influencing not less its opinions, than its actions. At the same time, the Author seems cautious not to fall into the mistakes and puerilities of mere eulogists, who fail to examine before they pronounce.

Ample evidences of this careful study and research are afforded throughout the work; and nowhere more so, than in treating of the early history and origin of chivalry; its varied forms in France, Spain and England; its connection with feudalism, and its eventual degeneracy and decay.

The description of the initiatory ceremonies of knighthood, and its sacred character, is often extremely interesting; its uses and abuses are clearly shewn; and its truth, honour, and gal-

lantry are warmly commended and enforced. This is followed by some able and spirited remarks on the origin of the Crusades ;—the establishment of Mahometanism ;—pilgrimages ;—and a very curious and interesting sketch of the life of Peter the Hermit, and the success which attended his efforts. The interest of the narrative then rapidly increases, and we approach the first Crusade with the siege and conquest of Nice. The disasters of the Crusaders are brought into dark contrast with the splendour of their previous array ; and the siege and conquest of Antioch abate a portion of the wild enthusiasm which inspired them. But their course is onward ; the Holy City appears in view ; the Saracens are again overthrown ; and Godfrey, now elected Prince, gains the famous battle of Ascalon. The whole of these events are described in a rapid, but masterly style ; interwoven with short, but pithy reflections, and the sum and meaning of larger histories are compressed very judiciously into a trivial space.

Of the two volumes, we think the second is at once the most interesting in point of the topics treated, and in the style and spirit with which the Writer invariably rises with his subject. It embraces the Establishment of the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the Assassins ; an account of St. Bernard, and of the Second Crusade, fraught with accumulated disasters of the Eastern Christians. Jerusalem at length surrenders to Saladin ; and the triumphant Sultan follows up his successes, until Richard of England, and Philip of France arrive in Palestine, and the scene is reversed. After a number of brilliant exploits, Richard departs for England ; and the death of Saladin at length opens the path to the fourth Crusade, under the Emperor, Henry the Sixth. Its inglorious termination, and the disgrace sustained by the Christian arms, suggest the following reflections.

‘ Thus ended this short and inglorious crusade, which would hardly deserve to be ranked among the expeditions known by that name, but for its being the commencement of a series of events, which are presently to engage our attention, and which have an importance equal, if not superior, to any of those already recounted. It is with the commencement of the fourth crusade we discover the beginning of that change which marks the difference between the middle and modern ages of the world. The impassioned enthusiasm, the untiring devotion, the imaginative belief, which gave life and spirit to inanimate things, and a visible form and body to the fleeting visions of the mind—these were now fast giving way to the more selfish principles of action. Instead of being carried out of themselves, and moved to seek consolation in the vague but not less certain sources of pleasure, men began to value only the positive goods of life ; and as this feeling became more and more prevalent, the requisition of wealth was more eagerly sought for, and social liberty was a blessing better understood, and more highly

prized. Both kings and people participated in this change; and the wars of the one were gradually assuming an entirely political character, while the latter employed their growing energies in working out, one after the other, the rights which were to be the pillars of future constitutions.

It is in this respect that the crusade, undertaken by the Emperor Henry VI., is most worthy of attention; and the careful reader of history will take pleasure in observing the difference between the character of that monarch, the means which he employed to carry on his designs, and the general events of the enterprise, and the same kind of objects, as they offer themselves to inquiry, in the expeditions before described.' Vol. II. pp. 178, 179.

From the limits to which he was necessarily confined, the Author's survey of many interesting and important events is brief and rapid, but generally able and luminous, while his reflections are pointed and judicious. The style is at once bold and flowing, the narrative clear and animated, and the descriptive portions are highly wrought and often picturesque. Of these, he has afforded, perhaps, the strongest evidence in his narrative of the invasion of Egypt, the conquest of Damietta, and the conduct of the fifth Crusade under the Emperor Frederick II. We extract the following vivid and characteristic description.

'When the crusaders arrived in Syria, they found the Christians in the lowest state of depression, and the whole country impoverished and desolated by the conflicts of the Moslem princes, as well with each other as with the faithful. The knights began their campaign, by ravaging the territory of Damascus and Gaya; but their expedition into the latter province had nearly proved fatal to the party who undertook it. Having travelled several leagues through a strange country, they at length came to a narrow defile, formed by barren sand hills. Here they resolved to repose and refresh themselves; but in the midst of their carousal, the heights around them were covered with archers; thousands of Saracens were seen rushing from all quarters; and the wild ravine in which the Christians were confined, and which till now had been as silent as the grave, re-echoed with the mingled shouts of the multitude and the shrill peals of the Syrian war-music. The crusaders, attacked on all sides, seemed evidently doomed to destruction; and the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Joppa immediately prepared to retreat. The Counts of Bar and Montfort remained obstinately determined to await the issue of a combat. For a considerable time they repelled all the assaults of the enemy; till the latter, feigning to retreat, drew them from their position, and the two noblemen, with most of their followers, were either slain or taken prisoners. After this calamitous event, the King of Navarre remained a short time at Ascalon, and then returned to Ptolemais. No further warlike measures were proposed; and the expedition ended by the agreement of the different chiefs with the Saracen princes,—the Templars having formed a treaty with the Sultan of Damascus; and the Hospitallers, the Duke

of Burgundy and others, with the Sultan of Egypt, who promised them Jerusalem in return for their alliance. These treaties were, however, on the point of being broken, by the chivalrous and devout Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England. But the pious intention of this prince to effect the more perfect delivery of the Holy Land, was resisted by the other Christian knights; and he was obliged to be content with having made a pilgrimage rather than a crusade. Europe, in the meantime, continued to be equally disturbed by the struggles of Frederick and Gregory; and when the latter died, he left his successor to pursue a conflict, which was as injurious to the present peace of the church, as it was favourable to its future reformation.

Innocent IV. mounted the pontifical throne at a time when both Europe and Asia were thrown into the deepest alarm, by the progress of the Mogul Tartars. This barbarous people still retained the habits of ancient times; but to the plain and simple manners of herdsmen, they added the fierceness and savage customs of constant warfare. While the different tribes, which composed this vast nation, remained separated, either by the necessities of a wandering life, or the animosities to which these necessities give rise, the iron-bound deserts of the North were a sufficient barrier between them and the civilized world. But there is a social principle in humanity, which, under the first circumstances favourable to its action, attracts and binds men together. Large families of the Tartar races were thus united; and the desire of conquest as well as its necessity, grew with the increasing number of these tribes. At length, by the conquest of Constantinople, the mighty partition-wall, under which the nations of the East and West had slumbered for centuries undisturbed, fell with a frightful crash. From the bleak and immeasurable wilds, myriads of savage warriors were seen ready armed for the conflict. Their fierce countenances, hardy frames, and immense numbers, filled all men with dismay; and the nations cowered under their menaces, as if they possessed no means of resisting such a people.

The terror which the Moguls occasioned, contributed greatly to preserve the peace of Palestine; and the Syrian Christians remained for some time undisturbed by any of the Saracen princes. But, unfortunately for the faithful, the Tartars, in the course of their invasions, had fallen upon the Carazmians, a people inhabiting the borders of the Caspian, and had driven them from their country. The exiles, scarcely less barbarous than their conquerors, wandered about in search of a new settlement, carrying death and devastation in their train. On approaching Syria, the discord which prevailed among the Moslems favoured their arms; and the Sultan of Cairo entered into a league with them, by which he promised to yield Jerusalem into their hands. The Holy City, unprepared for defence, was immediately abandoned by the Christians; and the Carazmians found in it only a few sick and aged people, who were unable to escape with their brethren. The greater part of the conquerors, on seeing this, retired behind the city, and those who remained, hoisted the standard of the cross on the walls and citadel, and rang the bells of the different churches. The fugitives paused in their flight at this singular occur-

rence. "God!" exclaimed they, "has had mercy upon us, and driven away the barbarians." Seven thousand of them immediately returned to their homes, when the Carazmians started from their retreats, re-entered the town, and slaughtered, or loaded with irons, the whole number. Their fury even extended to the dead, and they destroyed the supposed tomb of our Saviour, that of Godfrey of Bouillon, and whatever relics they could find of the saints and martyrs who were buried in the Holy City.

A. D. 1244. This melancholy event united all parties; and an army was speedily raised, composed of both Christian and Mussulman, the command of which was intrusted to the Prince of Emessa, renowned for his valour and prudence. Having encamped in the plains of Ascalon, this General recommended that the forces should there await those of the enemy; but the Christians would not hear of this cautious method of proceeding, and encountered the Carazmians in the territory of Guza. Before the engagement commenced, the forces, kneeling down, received the benedictions of the priests. Scarcely had they risen from their devotion, when the enemy advanced, and poured their arrows among the ranks of the allied troops. For a moment the assault was unresisted. The Prince of Joppa, the bravest knight in the army, was under sentence of excommunication; and the patriarchs of Jerusalem had sternly forbidden him to advance. But the time was too precious to be thus wasted; and the Bishop of Rama, seeing the situation of the army, flew to the prince, and exclaimed, "March! I absolve thee, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

From the rising of the sun to its setting, and throughout the greater part of the next day, the battle raged in all the horrors of slaughter; but at last, the Prince of Emessa fled, and the faithful, left without his support, found it impossible to resist the strength of the enemy any longer. Of the splendid array of knights who had entered this field of blood, few remained to tell the tale of their disasters. The Templars had either all perished, or were taken prisoners, except thirty-three; of the Hospitallers only twenty-six escaped; and of the Teutonic knights only three survived. Nor was the loss of the Saracens less severe. Two thousand of the noblest Moslems were left dead on the plain, before their retreat; and altogether above thirty thousand of the allies are supposed to have fallen by the sword of the Carazmians.

Jerusalem had now again become the possession of Egypt; and the Carazmians continued their triumphant march through the neighbouring provinces. At the siege of Joppa, the heroism of other days was revived in the person of the prince of that city, who had been taken prisoner in the late battle. Placed on a cross, and threatened with instant death, if he would not desire the inhabitants to surrender, he cried to his people, "It is your duty to defend this Christian city, and mine to die for Christ." The place, however, was taken, and Gauthier of Brienne perished under the hands of a barbarous rabble. In little more than a year after this event, the Sultan of Cairo broke his engagements with the Carazmians; and the Saracen princes forming a strong junction with him against these barbarians, they were finally

driven out of Syria. But the Holy City remained in the hands of the Sultan; and the loss the Christians had sustained in the battle of Hattin prevented their attempting any measures for its recovery. New tribes of Tartars, also, continued to harass the country with their invasions, and the whole land was involved in gloom.

Vol. II. pp. 294—299.

Not less ably and succinctly detailed is the account of the irruption of the Mogul Tartars, the fall of Jerusalem, and the sixth and seventh Crusades in the reign of Louis IX. of France. With declining power and final expulsion of the Franks, soon after the death of Louis, the Author approaches the conclusion of his very able and powerfully written work.

In doing justice, however, to its merits, we are bound not to lose sight of some particulars in regard to which the Author seems either not to have possessed, or not to have availed himself of all those advantages which, in the composition of such a history, every writer should have within his grasp. While indulging his own striking and original, if not always correct views, he fails to make us duly acquainted with the authorities to which he has been indebted in the statement of his facts and reasoning, and with the conflicting opinions of preceding writers. In other instances, he hurries rather too rapidly over his ground; and there are occasional marks of inadvertency and immatured effort;—the result, doubtless, of accident, rather than want of vigour or talent in the Writer. Notwithstanding this occasional absence of correctness and want of revision, there is, in these volumes, a manifestation of vigorous, but somewhat undisciplined powers,—affording ample promise of future superiority and distinction, such as no writer of mediocrity ever held out. It is for this reason we shall venture to remind the talented Writer of these volumes, that though such inaccuracies may be leniently dealt with in the composition of a first, a successful, and a splendid performance, they will not be so easily tolerated in their repetition. We could wish him moreover to be aware of falling into the error of following too inconsiderately his evident love of speculative thinking and abstruse reasoning, always too attractive to a strong and ingenious intellect, and which, when long dwelt upon, are apt to give a dubious and dreary tone, not only to the thoughts and sentiments, but to the imagery and style of the composition itself.

Art. X. *A Funeral Discourse on the Death of the Rev. William Orme*. By Joseph Fletcher, A.M. To which is prefixed, the Address at the Interment, by Robert Winter, D.D. 8vo. pp. 68. London. 1830.

WE cannot pass over this interesting tribute to the memory of the universally lamented Secretary to the London Mis-

sionary Society, who, by his active labours, his various writings, and the attraction and force of his personal character, occupied so distinguished an elevation, and deservedly, in the eyes of the religious public. In common, we believe, with all who knew him, we deplore his removal in the prime of his years, as a serious calamity. He was a standard-bearer in the Christian army; a man in whose hands the interests committed to his management, were safe; whose talents, attainments, sound judgement, and firm consistency of conduct were all in harmony with each other, and united to produce a character less shewy than intrinsically admirable, less commanding than silently influential. His extensive information, practical wisdom, conciliatory manners, and unwearied activity, rendered him an invaluable counsellor, coadjutor, pastor, and friend. Without being gifted with any remarkable powers of oratory, he was, upon occasion, impressively eloquent. Without laying pretension to profound scholarship, he had an extensive and familiar acquaintance with the resources and apparatus of Biblical criticism, and with every other branch of sacred literature. His writings bear the stamp of entire competency in relation to their subject or occasion. He was also fast rising in public estimation, not merely as he became more known, but as he became increasingly worthy of being known, from the course of self-improvement and intellectual growth in which he was pressing forward. He was not a man who counted himself to have "already attained", or to be "already perfect", who over calculated his abilities or importance, or who would have been content to maintain his reputations on the savings of past earnings. The vitality and energy of his character were unequivocally manifested in its brightening development; and although he had reached the maturity of his faculties and his virtues, had his life been spared, he would still have been accumulating intellectual wealth, and rising in correspondent usefulness. But we know not why we should employ our own pen in attempting to portray his character, which is so well drawn in the Sermon before us,—except, indeed, for the melancholy gratification of adding our feeble testimony to the solid worth of a man whose friendship we valued so high, and whose death has left a chasm which will not easily be supplied. The Rev. Greville Ewing, who knew him intimately, thus speaks of Mr. Orme in a letter to Mr. Fletcher.

‘He was no common man, either for intellectual or moral qualities. Never, probably, had a young minister such a “sea of troubles” to contend with, from controversy, from party, from powerful influence, from debt on places of worship, from attempts to crush him in adversity, and from envy in prosperity. These trials he keenly felt. They often affected his health, but they never subdued his mind. Besides his eminence as a preacher, his ability and success in “taking care of

the church of God," his talent for conducting public business, there was an indefatigable diligence of study, which led to the most extensive reading, the most judicious and thorough digestion of the information collected, combined with an independent and free, yet candid and good-humoured exercise of the right of thinking for himself. I never knew any one in whom were more happily united the habits of retirement and of social life, the qualities of the man of books and of Christian fellowship; the patient research of the theologian, the historian, and the antiquary, with the liveliness of the cheerful companion, the cordial and active good-will of the fellow-labourer, the affectionate, sympathizing, devotional friend in the fellowship of the gospel, and in all the other relations of society.' p. 44.

We add a few additional traits of his public character, as drawn by Mr. Fletcher.

'As a preacher of the gospel, our beloved friend possessed great and distinguished excellencies. His mind was amply stored with sacred knowledge; his attainments were varied and extensive; and few were the subjects connected with religion on which he had not read much, and thought more. He had a delightful facility in the presentation of truth; his reasonings were judicious, his arguments invariably scriptural, and his appeals bold and decisive. He sought not for figures but facts, and was more conversant with arguments than ornaments. He aimed to convince the judgement and impress the heart. There was felt by all who heard him, the conviction that he was a man of God, "and honest in the sacred cause." The various powers of his mind were well-balanced; there was an admirable equipoise and adjustment in their exercise, and his views of truth were luminous and unequivocally evangelical. No one could mistake him. The great doctrines of the gospel, those which concerned the divinity, atonement, righteousness and authority, of the Redeemer, were always prominently exhibited. The cross was the central glory of every discourse; and if this source of light were not itself directly contemplated, all other subjects were beheld by the light which it supplied. The application of Christian doctrine to the conscience, the heart, and the life, were faithfully maintained and illustrated. He preached with fidelity, with discrimination, and with affection. There were no levity, no trifling with the word of God, no attempt at ingenious conceits and far-fetched resemblances. He did not adduce doubtful arguments, or force a passage from its natural and obvious meaning to support a favourite theory, or strengthen a novel position. It was impossible to hear him preach, without being made aware of the place which his subject occupied in the great system of truth. There were no unhallowed partialities, nothing like exaggeration in his statements of doctrine so as to cause one truth to displace another truth. Hence there was no tendency to extremes, either on the subject of Christian privilege, or Christian duty; all was 'fitly framed together'. This arose from his habit of going through extensive and connected portions of scripture in his morning discourses, and this practice he continued during the whole course of his ministry. Its advantages in the great work of pastoral instruction are incalculable. Never will churches be

characterized as intelligent and well-informed, fortified against the seductions of error, and sincerely prepared for the reception of every truth, if there be not possessed by the pastor and the people, the love of faithful and continuous expositions of scripture. The distinguishing feature of his mental character was strong, manly sense. No one could know him in the intimacies of private life, or hear him in public on any occasion, without feeling that his mind could be *trusted*. This arose from his comprehension and decision; and hence he was admirably fitted for counsel and advice. With this endowment he combined an activity and a despatch that qualified him for business as well as discussion, and prepared him to fill with great efficiency the important office he afterwards occupied in the London Missionary Society.

'In the hallowed cause of missions, he was greatly honoured by the confidence reposed in his sound and discriminating judgement, and the zeal with which he discharged the official duties of his station. While in the councils and deliberations of that society, such were the promptitude, wisdom, and energy which he evinced, as always to confirm their high estimation of his moral and intellectual worth. He was prepared at all times from the press, the platform, and the pulpit, to promote the interests and to defend the principles of that great institution.' pp. 45—49.

A very interesting and edifying account of the last days and dying testimony of Mr. Orme, will be found in Mr. Fletcher's sermon, which it is needless to recommend to the perusal of our readers. On the removal of such a man, in the midst of his days, our feelings, Mr. Fletcher remarks, lead us to exclaim, 'How mysterious are the ways of God!'

'Why, we inquire, are such instruments so soon laid aside, while so many cumberers of the ground, and so many loiterers in the vineyard, are still retained amidst all their uselessness and their insignificance? Why are these stars in the right hand of the Redeemer, that shed so benign a lustre around them, and guide so many wanderers to the way of peace, so soon removed from their spheres of influence, while so many false, bewildering lights are still mysteriously permitted to dazzle and destroy? But let us not forget that "all power" is given to our ascended Redeemer. The church is not exempted from the common laws by which the course of mortality is conducted in every other department of society. There is no assurance of longevity to the faithful.' pp. 50, 51.

Were it otherwise, one powerful motive would be withdrawn, which events of this monitory character are well adapted to enforce, to do with our might what our hand findeth to do, and to watch and be ready for the Divine summons. There is, however, another consideration, which may serve to relieve in some measure the mysterious aspect of such events. May we not sometimes err in regarding a life as mysteriously cut short, which, under all the circumstances, we ought to regard as having been mercifully prolonged? Is not what may seem to us a

sudden or premature death, sometimes the result of disease which had long been undermining the vital fabric, and which might, under any exciting cause, have proved fatal at a much earlier period? Is not the removal of an individual in the zenith of his usefulness and the fulness of his powers, a less melancholy event, than an obscuration of that usefulness by disease, or the slow decay of intellectual energy beneath the pressure of physical malady? How imperfect are our means of judging of the merciful reasons which guide the Divine dispensations! Mr. Orme's life had more than once hung in suspense, under attacks of disease which served to discover a constitution far from strong; nor would it have afforded room for surprise, had his health long ago given way, which he enjoyed by a tenure so precarious. We rejoice that he was spared to do so much, in a life comparatively short, but virtually long;—to anticipate longevity by his active usefulness, and to leave behind him an example which, if not venerable with the majesty of age, was undimmed by its feebleness, and which, to his junior brethren in the ministry, more especially, presents so much that it behooves them to emulate.

Art. XI. *Recognition in the World to come; or Christian Friendship on Earth perpetuated in Heaven.* By C. R. Muston, A.M. 12mo. pp. xii. 432. Price 6s. 6d. London, 1830.

ON first taking up this volume, an emotion of surprise may be excited, that it should have been deemed needful, or even possible, to occupy a volume with the discussion of the simple point of inquiry to which it professedly relates; but a glance at the table of Contents will shew, that Mr. Muston has treated the subject in various extensive and important bearings. We shall transcribe the plan of the work.

‘ Chap. I. Introductory Remarks. II. The Hope of Re-union in another World accordant with the general Apprehension of Man. III. On Christian Friendship. IV. The perpetuation of Christian Friendship, a Doctrine which rests upon Scriptural Evidence. § 1. On the certainty of a future state. § 2. On the local and common destination of the righteous. § 3. On the certainty of future recognitions. § 4. On the perpetuation of the social principle. § 5. On the future existence of specific affection. V. The perpetuation of Christian Friendship accordant with the nature and design of Christianity. VI. The Final Meeting and Future Friendship of the Righteous, as distinguished by its Perfection, Perpetuity, and Progressive Character. VII. Difficulties and Objections connected with the Doctrine. VIII. Thoughts on the Final Interview of the Wicked and the ultimate Consequences of unholy fellowship. IX. Hints on the importance of personal religion. X. Remarks on the choice of Friends and on the

formation of the Matrimonial Compact. XI. Hints on the Duties of Christians towards their irreligious friends. XII. Remarks on the Nature and Objects of Church Fellowship. XIII. Consolatory Reflections on the Loss of Friends, suggested by the Hope of Re-union.'

These are topics of delightful and awful interest, legitimately connected with the main subject; and in this age of abstracts, outlines, and flippant essays, it is refreshing to find a work in which the Author has given his whole mind to the full investigation of his theme in all its bearings, not wearying of his purpose, and not satisfied till he has fairly distilled its essential virtues. Mr. Muston has evidently thought deeply and well, has read, reflected, and felt, before he committed his work to the press. He has conversed with his theme, till he has caught a glow from its celestial brightness. He has wrestled with it, till he has extorted a blessing for his reward; for how is it possible, indeed, to put forth one's mind in the energetic encounter with such subjects, without receiving their influence into our bosoms? Of the Author's competency for the task he has undertaken, and of the spirit in which he has accomplished it, we could not but draw a favourable augury from the introductory remarks in the first chapter.

'The knowledge which Revelation conveys to us respecting the future state of being, is of a general character. It consists more in principles than in minute details; and discloses to us as much of the celestial scene as is sufficient to uphold and animate us in the arduous pursuit of eternal life, without dazzling our minds with a vision of overpowering brilliancy, and abstracting our attention from the more humble, yet all important concerns of human life.'

'Within the circle of information laid open to us in the unerring word of God, there is, however, legitimate and ample scope to be found for the gratification and useful employment of the loftiest intellect; and it is unquestionably both our duty and privilege to enter in an humble and devotional spirit upon this consecrated ground, and diligently to inspect the rich variety of objects which are there presented to the eye of the mind. While we deprecate the spirit of bold and presumptuous curiosity respecting things which are not revealed, it behoves us to guard against the opposite error into which many professing christians have fallen, of contracting the range of lawful inquiry into the nature and circumstances of our future destination. It is a false humility which would impose any unnecessary restraints upon the powers of the mind, and forbid them to range abroad in the pure and transforming element of divine truth. Whatever direct discoveries respecting the life to come are contained in the sacred volume, or whatever information may be deduced from the general principles which enter into the christian economy, are so many particulars which were disclosed by the Spirit of truth, expressly with a view to the comfort and edification of believers. And they are therefore to be considered not only as points of legitimate investigation, but as subjects

which demand attention in proportion to the degree of importance which really belongs to them. Religion is often described as a life of faith in the realities of a future world, and the elevation of the soul depends much upon the strength, expansion, and purity of its conceptions, respecting its final and anticipated condition. By viewing eternity through the medium of divine revelation, and concentrating his hopes in the Son of God, the christian becomes fortified against all the debasing and depressing influences of time, and is increasingly able to appreciate the wonders of redeeming love, which purchased for him so glorious an inheritance, and is preparing him for the full enjoyment of it by a suitable course of discipline in the present world.'

'The question, whether the friendships of the good will be extended to another life, or whether they will be for ever annihilated by the oblivion of present associations, cannot be a cold and barren speculation to any who possess the common feelings of humanity. What bosom does not respond to the sentiment so pathetically expressed by a poet, more distinguished, alas! by the splendour than the sanctity of his genius? —

“ Yet if, as holiest men have deem'd, there be
A land of souls beyond that sable shore,
To shame the doctrine of the Sadducee
And sophists, madly vain of dubious lore ;
How sweet it were in concert to adore
With those who made our mortal labours light !
To hear each voice we fear'd to hear no more !
Behold each mighty shade reveal'd to sight,
The Bactrian, Samian sage, and all who taught the right.”

BYRON.

'The subject, in short, has universal interest. It connects itself with the best feelings of the heart, and the deep solicitude which it frequently awakens, is the voice of nature attesting its importance. To discuss its merits at present, would be for the author to anticipate himself. Let it suffice to observe, that if the hope to which it relates can be shewn to rest on valid ground, it is both rich in practical instruction and replete with comfort to all who are mourning over departed worth. It blends itself with our purest pleasures here, and with our loftiest anticipations of bliss in the life to come. It mingles heaven with earth, and while it imparts peculiar endearment and sanctity to every earthly relation, which is founded in love to the Saviour, it adapts itself to that principle of our nature which borrows aid from the impressions of sense. It multiplies and quickens our religious associations, and establishes an important link between time and eternity, in addition to every other by which God has thought proper to unite them. The realities of that bright and happy world into which the righteous are in due time to be gathered, do not come within the range of actual vision. They are objects of faith, and as such they must continue to be, until death brings them in full and sensible manifestation before the eye of the believer. But our conceptions of this invisible region are strengthened and brought more completely home to the business and bosom of man, by knowing that the living materials

with which it is in part to be replenished, are placed in direct display before his senses. He hears the voices, and beholds the persons, of the very intelligences who are hereafter to be associated with him, and to be recognized as his fellow companions on earth. To live with such prospective associations, on terms of close fellowship with them, and to realize in their friendship the pledge of future bliss, must be interesting circumstances, fitted to familiarize the unseen world to our minds, without degrading it, and to further the work of preparation for its elevated pleasures and services.

‘Upon the determination of the question before us, must likewise depend the degree of regard which is due on the part of the christian to his holy kindred and companions in the present life. “I must confess, as the experience of my own soul, (says an eminent divine,*) that the expectation of loving my friends in heaven, principally kindles my love to them on earth. If I thought that I should never know them, and consequently never love them after this life is ended, I should in reason number them with temporal things, and love them as such. But I now delight to converse with my pious friends, in a firm persuasion that I shall converse with them for ever: and I take comfort in those of them that are dead or absent, as believing I shall shortly meet them in heaven, and love them with a heavenly love, that shall there be perfected.”’ pp. 4—11.

We do not think it necessary to give any further analysis of the work, than the general plan and titles of the chapters. The fairest, and yet the severest test which we can apply to the merits of the execution, will be to examine the manner in which, in the seventh chapter, Mr. Muston copes with the difficulties and objections connected with the doctrine of perpetuated friendship. The objection which requires at least the most delicate handling, is that which founds itself upon the solemn and painful consideration, that individuals may be excluded from heaven, who are now the objects of our tender and affectionate solicitude: the knowledge of their absence, and of all that that absence involves, must, it is argued, be incompatible with the anticipated felicity of heaven. The subject, Mr. Muston remarks, is indeed one of those gloomy and distressing topics from which we are glad to make a hasty escape. So deeply does it implicate the feelings, that it unfits the mind for calm and impartial inquiry; and ‘after all that can be said ‘upon the subject, the attempt must, in many instances, prove ‘quite unavailing to produce, on minds of a certain class, any ‘thing like enlightened conviction.’ The following remarks are submitted with a view to expose the fallacy of the principles upon which the objection rests.

‘It is natural then to remark, that the difficulty adverted to, arises, in no small degree, from the circumstance of looking at the present

* Baxter.

subject through the medium of those earthly affections, which will find no place in the new and spiritual constitution which is to be set up in the future world. The instinctive principle—though it has been employed to account for more of the phenomena of mind than the rules of sound philosophy can warrant—is yet a primary element in the constitution of man. It mingles with the current of our associations, modifies our feelings, and exerts over the mind an influence, which, in regard to uniformity and force, bears a striking resemblance to the great law of gravitation, which the Creator has impressed on inanimate creation. It is probable, that the most pure and refined affection of which the human bosom is the residence, contains some portion of flesh and blood—some earthly admixture, which will not enter into celestial happiness. The aid of the instinctive principle is peculiarly necessary in social and domestic life ; and it is here, therefore, that its power is especially felt, and exhibited in those forms of tenderness, sympathy, and assiduous care, which so much contribute to the harmony and happiness of the human family. How much of the love which blends itself with the various relations of kindred and consanguinity, is to be placed to the score of natural affection and conventional want, it would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to determine. But it is obvious that no small proportion flows from this source.

‘ If the Christian carried into a future world the same affections which are involved in the natural relations of the present life, they might, for aught that appears to the contrary, become the source of inquietude, and embitter the enjoyments of eternity. But then the wants and feelings arising out of our corporeal nature—the perpetuation of which the objection in question evidently presupposes—are designed to answer a temporary purpose ; and revelation gives us to understand, as we have had occasion to notice, that death will determine them, and introduce a constitution under which the righteous “ will be as the angels of God.” And this very important consideration conducts us one step at least towards the resolution of a plausible difficulty, frequently urged against the doctrine of perpetuated consciousness. For it teaches us that the Christian must stand in a very different position from that in which he is at present placed towards his irreligious friends. Divested of all those earthly tendencies, and unholy passions, which often pervert his judgement and enslave his better feelings, he will be prepared to look at their condition with the eye of unsophisticated reason, and to contemplate them in the essential and moral attributes of their nature.

‘ If, then, in the future world, they will be regarded in their naked character and relation to eternity, what will remain to attach them to redeemed and perfected beings ? The objection supposes them to be unholy intelligences ; for there are only two classes into which the human family will be divided on the great day, and none will be excluded from the presence of God but those who finally reject the Saviour, or die in an impenitent state. Such persons will not only want the requisite title of admittance into heaven, which faith in the Redeemer imparts, but will be morally unfit for the pleasures, employments, and fellowship of that sacred place. And when the restraints, the disguises, and the factitious qualities, which now often conceal the

real character, shall vanish for ever, and the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, it is manifest, that the impenitent cannot fail to be seen as they truly are, and that they will appear to be destitute of every virtuous principle, and at enmity with God. Were it, therefore, possible for any of them to be admitted into the supernal world, is it to be supposed that they would be regarded with other feelings than those of moral aversion by its holy inhabitants? Recollections, indeed, might be awakened, but would they have any central point of complacency, or possibly produce any cordial sympathy amongst beings delivered from the influence of every instinctive affection, and having for the basis and regulating principle of every attachment, a strict and undeviating regard to moral excellence?'

'And what appears to be the state of mind into which an eminently pious man is ordinarily brought, in reference to his earthly relatives in the immediate prospect of dissolution—in those eventful and interesting moments, when it is fair to presume that he makes the nearest approximation on this side the grave to the temper of the redeemed in heaven? In those cases, where the power of religion is manifested, the affections do not seem to be diminished, but often acquire unusual intenseness, even amidst the depressing influences of pain and disease. The soul of a holy man, who enjoys on his dying-bed the presence of God, often glows with unwonted ardour, joy glistens in his eye, the light of gratitude comes over his countenance, and his heart burns at the very mention of the Saviour's name; and it is usually found that he becomes peculiarly susceptible of grateful impressions from the sympathy and kindness of surrounding friends. But then his love is sublimed; it is abstracted from earthly considerations; it is fixed upon God, and goes out, at the same time, in pure and complacent emotion towards his religious friends and associates. And whilst he regards them no longer "after the flesh," and every natural relation seems, in his experience, to be absorbed in the spiritual one; yet they are endeared to him, as he is to them, by the common anticipations of eternity, and the remembrance of sanctified associations and pleasurable intercourse. But what may be expected to be his feelings towards those of his kindred, if such there be, who are evidently strangers to God, and abandoned to vicious and profligate courses? Has it not frequently happened, that their very presence has occasioned an unusual degree of uneasiness, and is it even desired but with the benevolent view of prevailing upon them, by all the solemnities of the occasion, to give prompt and serious attention to their interests for eternity? And how much stronger must the operation of such sentiments be, in a world where love will be made perfect, and where there will be nothing to obstruct or divert the current of holy emotion!'

'It should not, in conclusion, be forgotten, that the justice of the above remarks, and the fallacy of the objection which has given rise to them, receive support from the discoveries of revelation, in reference to the temper of mind with which the inflictions of righteous judgment are regarded by the inhabitants of heaven. God is love, and cannot but look with ineffable tenderness upon his creatures. Yet his happiness is not, and cannot possibly be, impaired by the sufferings which his unerring rectitude has doomed unholy spirits to endure.

And in like manner the angels of heaven, who take the most deep and benevolent interest in our apostate race, and who are inconceivably better acquainted than human beings can be with the precise condition of fallen spirits, and with the direful consequences of sin, enjoy, nevertheless, undisturbed tranquillity and perfect happiness. The sentiments with which they contemplate the severest visitations which are awarded to the impenitent by the supreme Governor of the universe, are those of adoring reverence and perfect confidence in the equity of his decisions. Their language, on such occasions, is embodied in the discoveries of revelation; for they are represented to say, in reference to the vials of the divine wrath, "Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments."

'Thus it appears that the most intense benevolence, combined with the full knowledge of the awful doom of fallen intelligences, is by no means incompatible with perfect peace. Nor can we reasonably suppose, that it will be otherwise in regard to the glorified spirits of righteous men, who will be made like God, and the angels of heaven.'

pp. 217-227.

We offer no comment upon these paragraphs, but leave them to speak for the good sense and piety which, we think, characterise Mr. Muston's entire discussion of the general subject. The difficulty adverted to, is not, indeed, peculiar to that subject; for, if the reasoning of the objector had any force, not only must mutual recognition and the perpetuation of present consciousness be excluded, as incompatible with future happiness, but even the very knowledge of the existence of evil, and its awful and necessary concomitant, misery*.

Mr. Muston has enriched his volume with extracts both from the heathen classics and our own poets, in order to shew how prevalent has ever been the hope of a future re-union. This sentiment is somewhat obscurely, yet how exquisitely expressed in the *Antigone* of Sophocles! The daughter of *Œdipus* exclaims:

' For a deed like this
Oh, what were death but glory! I shall rest
Beloved with him I love, my last sad duty
Boldly discharged. Our latest, longest home
Is with the dead; and therefore would I please
The lifeless, not the living. I shall rest
For ever there.'

(Dale's Translation.)

In a still sublimer spirit of poetry as well as of faith, the sacred writer exclaims: "Wherefore, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us throw aside every weight and incumbrance, and let us run with perseverance the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus."

* Upon this point, we may refer Mr. Muston to a train of remark in an article in a former volume of our Journal. *Ec. Rev.* 2d Series. Vol. XII. pp. 353-362.

NOTICES.

Art. XII. *The Sorrows of the Righteous for the Sins of Mankind.*

A Sermon, preached before the London Missionary Society, at the Tabernacle, Moorfields, May 12, 1830. By Thomas Adkins, of Southampton. 8vo. pp. 68. London. 1830.

ALTHOUGH we find it impossible to notice single Sermons in general, we have great pleasure in giving our recommendation to this excellent Discourse. Our analysis of it must be brief. The principal divisions are very properly textual, illustrating the affecting subject by which the sorrow of a holy soul is excited; the particular sources of this sorrow; its exalted character; and the appropriate modes of its expression. The first head is introduced with some observations on the principle in which Divine law originates; the necessity and force of that law, as Divinely promulgated; and its extent, as impressed upon the consciences of the heathen, and legible in the wonders of creative power and goodness. Mr. Adkins then proceeds to expatiate on the awful fact of the violation of the just and equitable requisitions of the Almighty Legislator, as the subject of pious grief and lamentation. We have been particularly pleased with the delineation of that false sensibility which 'grants to fiction what it denies to fact';—'a spurious order of feeling which is too common, and which cannot be more effectually unmasked, than by being brought into such vivid contrast with that lovely grace, under the influence of which David wept, and David's Lord himself was moved to tears.'

In detailing the appropriate modes of expressing the sentiment of the text, Mr. Adkins has been careful to shew, that the true basis of genuine zeal for the Missionary cause is *personal religion*. Most cordially do we concur in the opinion, that Missionary agents, resources, and successes, are likely to augment in number, efficiency, and extent, as the result of increased and concentrated efforts, both in the way of personal devotement and munificent liberality. Upon the whole, we can cordially recommend this Sermon as an eloquent and impressive appeal on the behalf of Missionary operations. We shall make room for the following remarks on sympathy for the heathen.

'Were we, therefore, to take the lowest ground of concession—the mere *possibility* of the final perdition of the heathen—it would be easy to construct upon it an argument for strenuous exertion on their behalf; but when the evidence of their danger accumulates to a fearful magnitude, should not our zeal keep pace with our fears? Let us endeavour for a moment to realize the relative position to them in which we stand; let us, from the elevation of our privileges, look down on numberless millions of our fellow men, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, moving over the stage of existence to an eternity for which they are unprepared. As they pass along, they lift to us an imploring eye, to transmit to them the only revealed remedy to mitigate their present misery, and avert their future doom. Whilst looking for this blessing, so long delayed at our hands, they are hurried on, by the unrelaxing grasp of destiny, from what is changeable to what is fixed; from what

is probationary to what is retributive ; from what is temporal to what is eternal ; and as they vanish from our view, we seem to hear in return, the piercing cry of anguish, or the sullen groan of despair. Why, at the contemplation of such a scene, does not compassion expand its most generous sympathies, and prayer put forth its most ardent aspirations, and vigour strain its firmest nerve ? why !—because we do but faintly believe the articles of our faith ; because the immense evil of sin, and the value of the soul, and the brevity of time, and *the perishing condition of the heathen*, are regarded rather as topics for popular declamation, or gigantic shadows flitting through the fancy, than awful realities to arouse the conscience, and to impress the heart. *Lord, increase our faith !* The man, however, who can behold such a spectacle without an eye to pity or an effort to save, is a being whose moral depravity, words are powerless to describe. His religious privileges are to him only a dreary elevation, from which he is in danger of sinking into an abyss of wretchedness, even more profound than awaits those upon whom he looks with callous unconcern. His obligations bearing a proportion to his advantages, and his criminality to the degree in which the one has been violated and the other abused, his doom, without repentance, will be tremendous ; and at the last assize, when the different orders of men will pass in review before the eye of retributive justice, surely none will be impressed with more palpable features of guilt and misery than he, who, with the distinct recognition of the truth of this fact, has left unpitied millions to live without knowledge and to die without hope.' pp. 40—42.

Art. XIII. 1. *A Guide to the Practical Reading of the Bible.* By William Carpenter. 18mo. pp. xvi. 288. London. 1830.

2. *Popular Lectures on Biblical Criticism and Interpretation.* By William Carpenter, Author of "A Popular Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures", "Scripture Natural History", "Scripture Difficulties", &c. 8vo. pp. xiv. 446.

MR. CARPENTER is a most indefatigable man, and what is more, a very useful labourer in the field of literature. His publications are of a class which scarcely admit of any display of originality or genius, but they require assiduous diligence of research, copious information, sound judgement, and habits of accuracy ; qualifications which he appears to possess in a very competent degree. We feel chargeable with having used him almost unkindly, in not noticing his successive works as they appeared. His "Scripture Natural History", is a more readable volume than Dr. Harris's "Natural History of the Bible" ; and the wood-cuts are a feature of popular attraction. We cannot, however, recommend it to students, in preference to the work of the American Divine, which is somewhat unfairly depreciated. Much remains to be done, indeed, in this department of illustration. Mr. Carpenter's volume is a respectable performance ; but it is too diffuse, and not free from slight inaccuracies. An abridgement, in a volume of the Cabinet size, would be, we should imagine, acceptable and popular.

The "Lectures on Biblical Criticism" are, as the title indicates, 'popular',—not intended for the biblical scholar or the advanced student, but for the unlearned Christian whose wish it is to study 'the Bible to advantage.' It is of course, to a great extent, a compilation; but the judgement and reading of the Compiler are creditably manifested in the excellent choice of his authorities and sources of information; and so far as we have examined the volume, we have found it excellently adapted for the guidance and instruction of general readers who may be desirous, as every Christian ought to be, to acquaint themselves with this branch of sacred literature.

The very neatly printed pocket volume entitled, 'A Guide to the practical Reading of the Bible', comprises: 1. A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the English Bible. 2. Suggestions and Observations on the reading and study of the Bible. 3. Remarks on the Genuineness, Authenticity, and Divine Origin of the Bible. 4. A Chronological Arrangement of the Scriptures, together with the Chronological Eras, and a comparative Table of the Empires connected with Scripture history. It will be seen that these topics are, for the most part, comprised in the Author's larger volumes; especially in the last mentioned work on Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, of which this is, to a certain extent, an abridgement, and in the 'Popular Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures.' In this cheap and compressed form, the various information and useful suggestions here presented to the reader, cannot fail to be still more extensively useful; and we strongly commend the volume to the notice of our readers. If we were to find fault with any part of it, it would be with the 'Conclusion' at pp. 262—5, which we are tempted to call an impotent,—certainly an unimpressive conclusion. 'That Christianity is a system 'of immense value to mankind', is a mode of stating the case, so infinitely below a Scriptural representation of the claims and character of the Gospel, that we cannot reconcile it with propriety. At the same time, Mr. Carpenter's own views of Christianity are thoroughly orthodox and evangelical,—or, to use a better word than either, Scriptural; and we mean simply to object against what passes for a philosophical mode of expression, but which we regard as inadequate and unauthorized.

ART. XIV. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Preparing for Publication, Lectures on Colonial Slavery, by the Rev. B. Godwin of Bradford.

Preparing for immediate Publication, in Monthly Parts, a History of the County Palatine of Lancaster. By Edward Baines, Esq., Author of the "History of George III.," and of the "Topography of Lancashire," &c.

In the Press, No. I. of Views in India, from Sketches by Captain Robert Elliot, R.N. Each Number will contain Three highly finished Engravings, with descriptive Letter-press.

On the first of September will appear, No. I. (to be continued periodically) of the *British Pulpit*. It will be published under the sanction of the ministers whose discourses will appear in its pages.

Lady Morgan has just committed to the Press her new Work on "France in 1829-30," containing the substance of her Journal kept during her late residence in that country, comprising remarks on its present most interesting and momentous state; its society, politics, literature, arts; its eminent and celebrated persons of both sexes, with the striking changes which have taken place in all within the last fourteen years, and which render the France of 1829 another than the France of 1816, when Lady Morgan produced her first work on the same subject. Editions are to be published simultaneously in London and Paris.

Preparing for Publication, in one volume 12mo., *Analytical and Harmonious View of the Four Gospels*, containing the Sacred History of the New Testament Dispensation under a better Covenant, from the Advent to the Ascension of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Dr. Jamieson has nearly ready for publication, *The Elements of Algebra*, comprising Simple and Quadratic Equations; designed as an Introduction to Bland's Algebraical Problems.

A Key to the above, is also in the Press, in which the Solutions to all the Questions will be worked at full length.

ART. XV. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

THEOLOGY.

Errors regarding Religion. By James Douglas, Esq. 8vo. 8s.

Discourses on the Millennium, the Doctrine of Election, Justification by Faith, and on the Historical Evidence for the Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy; together with some preliminary Remarks on the Principles of Scriptural Interpretation. By the Rev. Michael Russell, LL.D. Author of "A Connection of Sacred and Profane History." 12mo. 7s. 6d.

Divines of the Church of England. With Lives of the Authors. Summary of each Discourse, Notes, &c. By the Rev. T. S. Hughes, B.D. No. I. containing Bishop Sherlock's Works. Vol. I. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

God the Setter up of Kings and the Remover of Kings, a Discourse preached on occasion of the Demise of George the Fourth. By John Morison. 8vo.

The Blindness and Indifference of Men to Futurity: a Discourse occasioned by the death of his late Majesty George IV.; delivered at the Independent Chapel, Lavenham. By Robert Ainslie. 8vo.

TOPOGRAPHY.

A Panorama of the Lakes, Mountains and Picturesque Scenery of Switzerland, viewed from the summit of Mont Rigi. Drawn from Nature, by Henry Keller. Accompanied with Descriptive Letter-press Directions to Tourists, &c.; and a Circular View of the same portion of the Country, on the Plan of General Pfyffer. In case, 12s. plain, or 1l. 4s. beautifully coloured.

A Guide to Jersey and Guernsey: with brief notices of Alderney, Sark, &c. By B. H. Draper. 12mo. 3s.